JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

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SERIES 5 ❖ VOLUME 1 ❖ NUMBER 1 ❖ FEBRUARY 1991

JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

Series 5 Volume 1 Number 1 February 1991

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ISSN 0017-6087

The *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* (ISSN 0017-6087) is published twice a year (February and August) by the Gypsy Lore Society (founded 1888), Inc., 5607 Greenleaf Road, Cheverly, MD, 20785. Printed in the USA.

The *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* is available through individual membership in the Gypsy Lore Society ($30 per year) or through institutional subscription ($35 per year).

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Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1991)

The Earliest Known Text in Balkan (Rumelian) Romani: A Passage from Evliya Çelebi's *Seyāḥat-nāme*

Victor A. Friedman and Robert Dankoff

The Romani glossary collected by Evliya Çelebi in 1668 in Gümülcine (Greek Komotiní) in what was then Turkey in Europe and is now Greek Thrace predates Marsden's material -- the oldest Rumelian data known to Paspati -- by over a century. The glossary is published here along with Evliya's text on the Romani-speaking population of Gümülcine and elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire. Evliya's Seyāḥat-nāme *was known to early contributors to the* Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society *only in a truncated and unreliable translation. The material here is thus being published with translation for the first time. The glossary is accompanied by interpretation and commentary and a brief dialectological analysis.*

Although the earliest known texts in Romani date from the mid-sixteenth century (v. Miklosich 1984[1874], Kluyver 1910, Gypsy Lore Society 1930, Cortiade 1986), they were all apparently recorded in Western Europe.[1] Paspati (1973[1870]:3) reports that Marsden (1785) is virtually the only author before him to have recorded any Romani in the dialect of Rumelia, in a text dating from c. 1783 (cf. Pott 1964[1844]:16, Sampson 1911). In this article, we are publishing a text that antedates Marsden's by over

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a century, the Romani entries of Evliya Çelebi's *Seyāḥat-nāme* 'Book of Travels'. According to Evliya, the specimens were taken down in 1668 in Gümülcine (Greek Komotiní, Bulgarian Gjumjurdžina), which is now the capital of Greek Thrace.

Evliya's voluminous work contains specimens of a variety of the Turkic and non-Turkic languages and dialects that he encountered in his travels from 1640 to 1684 and runs to 10 volumes, of which Books I and II were translated and published by Hammer (1846, 1850).[2] These are referred to by Halliday (1922) and Hasluck (1948). It is in Book VIII, however, that Evliya describes the Roms of Gümülcine and gives examples from their dialect.

In view of the particular interest of this text for Romologists, we are publishing Dankoff's translation of the relevant prose sections of the *Seyāḥat-nāme,* his transcription of the Romani vocabulary and its Turkish translation, his translation of the Turkish, and Friedman's commentary on the Romani.

First we give Evliya's prose on the Roms, then the vocabulary, which Friedman comments on entry by entry. This is followed by some comments on the dialectology of the text. The Arabic script has been transliterated according to the standard transcription used for Ottoman Turkish. Following each of Evliya's Romani entries, and the Turkish gloss (with English translation), Friedman gives a version with the most likely form the word or phrase actually had. Where necessary, this is supplemented with a literal translation and, where there is a significant difference from Evliya's Turkish, with an idiomatic translation. For the sake of simplicity the same Ottoman transcription has been followed for the "normalized" Romani as Dankoff uses for the Turkish. The following table gives the differences between the Turkish orthography and the Romani alphabets proposed at the First (1971) and Fourth (1990) World Romani Congresses:

Ottoman	Romani: 1st Congress	Romani: 4th Congress
c	dž	ʒ *or* ǯ
ç	č	ć
ş	š	ś
x	h	x
y	j	j *or* haček over following vowel[3]

The following sets of sounds can correspond to a single Arabic symbol: a/e (a), e/i (i), u/o (u), k/g/ng(ñ)/ny(ń)/gy (k). This is taken into account and ambiguities are commented on where necessary.

Texts from other authors are cited in the original transcription. The following common grammatical abbreviations are used:

1	first person
2	second person
abl	ablative
acc	accusative
aor	aorist
instr	instrumental
loc	locative
nom	nominative
obl	oblique
pl	plural
pres	present
sg	singular

Evliya Çelebi on the Gypsy Language of Komotiní in 1668 [4]

The following translation is based on the autograph manuscript, Bağdat Köşkü #308, which includes Books VII and VIII of the *Seyāḥat-nāme*. Reference is to folio and line number. Also cited in the notes are book IX, Bağdat Köşkü #306, and book X, İUTY 5973. Other page numbers (without a or b) refer to the Istanbul printed text, 10 vols., 1886-1938.

VIII 208a.26 - 208b.5 (86-87) *Concerning the Gypsies (qavm-ı qabābiṭa).*

Ever since the days of the Pharaohs the original home of the Gypsies (*çinganeler*) of Rumelia has been this town of Gümülcine. In fact when the Gypsies *(qavm-ı ferā'ineler)* take an oath among themselves they swear "by Egypt and by our Gümülcine." As for the Gypsies of Anatolia, their original home is the town of Balat in the *sancaq* of Menteşe. Even now Balat is the name of the quarter where the Gypsies settled when Sultan Mehmed the

Conqueror transferred them from Balat to Istanbul. To be sure, Sultan Mehmed also transferred to Istanbul some Gypsies from this Gümülcine. But the Anatolian and Rumelian Gypsies *(qıpṭīler)* did not get along well. The Rumelian Gypsies celebrated Easter with the Christians, the Festival of Sacrifice with the Muslims, and Passover with the Jews. They did not accept any one religion, and therefore our *imams* refused to conduct funeral services for them but gave them a special cemetery outside Egri Qapu. It is because they are such renegades that they were ordered to pay an additional tax for non-Muslims (*xarāc*). That is why a double *xarāc* is exacted from the Gypsies. In fact, according to Sultan Mehmed's census stipulation (*taḥrīr*), *xarāc* is even exacted from the dead souls of the Gypsies, until live ones are found to replace them. Finally the Rumelian Gypsies returned to their old hometown of Gümülcine, while the Anatolian Gypsies from Balat remained in the Balat quarter of Istanbul as quasi Muslims and as musicians and dancers. So the *beg* of the Gypsies [i.e., the official in charge of collecting the Gypsy *xarāc*] sometimes resides here in Gümülcine. For there are numerous Gypsies *(qıpṭīler)* in the vicinity of the town, whether singers and musicians, or counterfeiters and thieves. Every people (*qavm*) has its Gypsies, as does every one of the Christian nations (*millet-i neṣārā*). But the Gypsies in the vicinity of Gümülcine are notorious brigands.

209a.27 - 209b.1 (90-91) *The peculiar language of the Gypsies of Rum* [the Ottoman Empire] (lisan-ı qıpṭī ya'nī zebān-ı çingane-ı ferā'ine-i Rūmī).

The various peoples spread over the seven climes have their various languages. But each people also--by God's command--has its Gypsies, who speak the languages of the countries where they are settled. However, the Gypsies of Balat in Anatolia have their own peculiar language. And also these Gypsies *(qıpṭīler)* of Gümülcine have their own peculiar dialect. The Gypsies *(Bu qavm)* in this region and throughout the Ottoman domains originated in Egypt, when Moses battled with Pharaoh on the shore of the Red Sea near the Sinai desert and 600,000 of Pharaoh's soldiers --along with his magicians and diviners and the tools of their trade --drowned in the whirlpool at the place known as the Strait of Qolundur.[5] Moses put a curse on the people of Pharaoh who were

not present at that battle. As a result of the curse they could not remain in Egypt but were scattered abroad, condemned to wander from clime to clime and from town to town, hungry and homeless, dwelling in the mountains and the valleys, and raiding and thieving.

209b.28-31 (92) In the time of Moses the people of Pharaoh split into two groups. One group, consisting of several hundred thousand who escaped drowning in the Red Sea at the Strait of Qolundur, fled to Rum, as mentioned above. The other group, who were neither on the side of Pharaoh nor on the side of Moses, are known as Copts (*qavm-ı qıbṭī*). Moses was not angry at them, but rather he blessed them, and today they are the much-respected Coptic people of Egypt.

210a.22 - 210b.14 (94-95) But the "Copts" -- i.e., the Gypsies -- in Rum, because of Moses's curse, live in contemptible and squalid circumstances, and even their dead must pay *xarāc.* It was concerning this group -- while they were still soldiers in Pharaoh's service -- that God revealed the verse "from every stubborn tyrant."[6] Truly they are tyrannical, good-for-nothing, thieving, irreligious people -- they pretend to be Muslims but are not even infidels!

Their language. [This section has been shifted to the end of the expository prose after 210b.7]

210b.7 They *(qavm-ı ferā'ine)* have thousands of other such naughty expressions. For they are always quarreling among themselves, day and night, and cursing each other out with obscenities. They commit murder for the sake of a penny. Or else they insist on bringing their case to the pasha or to the Shariah court, and when it is adjudicated the dispute turns out to be over a penny or less. For that reason Gypsy legal claims are not heard. The Copts in Egypt, on the other hand, never utter an impolite word. Even the Anatolian Gypsies of Balat are upright citizens compared to these Rumelian Gypsies *(qıpṭīler)*; I have given an account of their language above in vol. ----.[7]

These Gypsies *(qabābıṭa)* too have twelve dialects, one uglier than the next -- may God save His servants from their

wickedness. But the world traveler must have some inkling of their dialects as well, and so I have recorded it here despite the impropriety of some expressions. Don't blame me; for these Gypsies made my liver bloody and my eyes red with tears.

Vocabulary

VIII 210a.26

yk 1 yekh
duwy 2 duy
tirin 3 trin

Marsden gives *Trin.* The use of *i* to break up the initial cluster tr- is characteristic of Turkish phonotactics. (Cf. Lăzărescu-Zobian:1983:312). In the case of Romani, it is also possible that Evliya simply misheard the cluster, but see the next entry.

'işta'r 4 [i]ştar

Marsden gives *Shtiar.* Paspati records *ishtár* as well as *shtár.* As in the preceding numeral, we have here a consonant cluster that is inadmissible in initial position in Turkish. Unlike the preceding example, however, this one is apparently attested in Romani and is therefore potentially an example of the influence of Turkish phonotactics on the dialect in question. In view of this fact, we cannot altogether eliminate the possibility that such influence was also present in the Gümülcine Romani pronunciation of the numeral 3.

p'nç 5 panç
şuw 6 şov

Paspati records *sho* as well as *shov.* Marsden has *Shove.*

'aftay 7 efta[y]

Paspati has only *eftá*, likewise Marsden *Eftâ.* The final *y* is peculiar, but this may be a diphthongization of the type observed by Heinschink (1989:107) in the dialect of the Basket-weavers of Izmir (cf. below).

'uwxtuw 8 oxto
'ankah 9 enya

Presumably this dialect has a palatal or jotated /n/ and final stress, as is quite common in the Balkan dialects. Marsden gives *Enia.* (Cf. notes on transcription).

daş 10 deş

fira'huwn *ism-i Allāh* name of God firahun

Here Evliya adds: "one of their gods -- God forbid -- was Pharaoh (*Fir'avn*); one group called him **fira'huwn.** " The following series of entries all ending with *hun* are commented upon as a group at the end.

ha'ma'n huwn *ulu peyġamber* great prophet haman hun
zayy'n huwn *ulu pādişāh* great sultan zeyyan hun
dulkah huwn *ulu qarı pādişāhı* great sultan of women (?) dulke hun
kuluwşh huwn *ulu evliyālar* great saints kuluşe hun
miysa' huwn *Mūsā peyġamber* prophet Moses misa hun
haruwn huwn *Hārūn peyġamber* prophet Aaron harun hun
maşa'b huwn *baba peyġamber* father prophet mesab hun

The entries ending in *hun* all appear to be non-Romani. The proper names of Pharaoh, Haman, Moses, and Aaron are all from the Koran. Haman is associated with Pharaoh in Koran 28:6,38; 29:39; 40:36-37. It is perhaps worth noting that this *hun* occurs in some specimens of Hindi prayers and songs that Evliya heard from entertainers in Funcistan and from the Indian "Banyan" communities settled in Suakin, Massawa, and elsewhere on the Red Sea coast, although in Hindi *hun* is the copula.[8]

manruw *ekmek* bread manro

Paspati gives Sedentary *manró, marnó* vs Nomad *mandó, maró* but also records *manró* from Nomads. Gilliat-Smith has *maṛó* from all the so-called Non-Vlah groups and *manro* or *marno* from the Vlah groups.[9] He records *manro* only from the Grebenári

'Comb-makers' for whom the reflex of original /ṇḍ/ in medial position in substantives is consistently /nr/.

pa'nkiy *ṣu* water panyi

Paspati has Sedentary *pani* vs Nomad *pai*. In Gilliat-Smith, *pai* is found in all the Vlah and some Non-Vlah dialects, while *pani* is limited to certain Non-Vlach dialects. Marsden records *Pagnee*. Here <nk> probably represents a palatal /ń/. This could be related to the Greek palatalization of /n/ and /l/ before /i/. Additional data (cf. below) indicate that the absorption of intervocalic /n/ by /i/ was in process. The palatal mutation of these sonorants before /i/ as in Greek, and their loss in some cases as in Albanian suggest the possibility of an areal (language-contact) origin for the phenomenon in Romani.

ma'ş *et* meat mas/maş?

The palatal here is problematic. Paspati and Gilliat-Smith record *mas* for all dialects. On the other hand, Paspati (1973[1870]:38) notes occasional /š/ for etymological /s/ among the Nomads of Rumelia, e.g. in *sho'si* for *so isi* 'qu'y a-t-il?', and also comments that like the Greeks, the Sedentary Roms have difficulty with /š/ whereas the Nomads, who are almost constantly speaking Turkish, do not. The form could thus be a result of hypercorrection. Moreover, Erzherzhog (1902) records *maš* from a Rumanian dialect. Cf. Hamp (1987).

duwduwm *qabaq* gourd dudum

şa'x *laḥana* cabbage şax

ma'nca'n ca'nas *güzel paṭlıcan* fine eggplant
man cangyanas 'me-acc you-had-known' = you had known me [?]
mancan canes/canas 'food-acc-pl you-know/we-know'=you/we know food/meals [?]

The Romani word for eggplant recorded by Paspati, *badlican*, is borrowed from Turkish. Greek is *melidzána* but regional pronunciation would be [mel'indzána]. There is also the Balkan

Turkism (from Italian) *manca* 'meal, food', but we do not expect an inanimate with the accusative case marker (albeit they do occur). Perhaps this is a peculiar or garbled form combining Greek 'eggplant' with Balkan 'food, meal' to produce *mancancanes*, but then Evilya's entry does not appear to contain any of the Romani words corresponding to Turkish *güzel* 'fine, beautiful'. It is possible that his informant was pulling his leg here. As Sampson (1911) has pointed out, there are numerous straightforward Romani vocabulary lists in the middle of which an ordinary term is glossed with a Romani obscenity. For example, Miklosich (1974[1878]:38[280]) quotes *chamrimintsch* literally 'eat my cunt', and *kari*, literally 'prick', as the Siberian Romani terms for 'aunt' and 'uncle'. If the pointing were different, I would suggest something with *minc/minç* 'cunt' (instr. pl. *mincenca[r]* in some Rumelian dialects).

kara'l *peynir* cheese keral

Many of the modern Balkan dialects now have *kiral*, although Paspati records *keral*.

siqah *incir* fig sika

Paspati records *kheli*. The term recorded by Evliya is borrowed from Greek.

şuw karaz şuwpy kanka'n *nişlersin ne şatdıñ* What are you doing, what did you sell?
so keres so bikengyan

There are three features worthy of note here: 1) the 2nd sg pres marker, 2) the second vowel in the stem biken-, and 3) the consonant marking the aorist stem formant, here -g-.

1. The 2nd sg pres ending in Romani is *-es(a)*, that of the 1 pl pres *-as(a)*. Elsewhere Evliya writes <s>, e.g. *des* 'give/hit/fight'. Moreover, final <s> occurs in *gis* 'day', *oles* 'him', *kakes* 'uncle-acc', but *baleme* 'Greek-acc'. It is possible that there was some sort of tense/lax alternation occurring. This could also account for the <p> if it is not simply a mistake in pointing (cf. *puye* below).

2. Paspati records the stem as *bikn-* in the present, *bikin-* in the participle, and *biken-* in the aorist, gerund, and causative. Etymologically, the stem is *bikin-*, which is the stem that shows up most consistently in the Balkans.

3. Evliya's <nk> most likely represents n + palatal stop. The Romani aorist is based on the participial stem, which in this case ends in *-d.* Mutation to a palatal stop [ḱ] or [ǵ]) due to jotation in the aorist was characteristic of the Sedentary Roms in Paspati's time. Nomadic would be *bikendan.* In Gilliat-Smith's groups, only the Non-Vlah Sofia Erlídes (= Macedonian Arlija) have this feature. Likewise in modern Skopje, Arlija is distinguished from both Džambaz and Burgudži by the presence of a stop or affricate.

şuw qaramtuw suw karaz *eyi xoş ya sen nişlersin* Good, fine, and what are you doing?
şukar am[a] tu so keres 'well, but you what do'

Note also that this sentence and the preceeding one form a typical Balkan exchange. --So keres? --Şukar! is the Romani version of a standard Balkan greeting exchange and functions as the equivalent of How are you? (How do you do?) -- Fine! (Very well, thank you!) (Greek: --Ti kanis? --Kala!, Macedonian --Š[t]o pra[v]iš? --Arno!, Romanian --Ce mai faci? --Bine!, Albanian -- Ç'ka po bën? --Mirë!). The same inquiry is made by the second speaker to the first in conformity with the etiquette of such interchanges. Note that the first speaker reinforces the greeting with the functional equivalent of 'How's the market?' ('How's business?').

'aqiy qa'y karaz *işte işleyi-yürüz* Well, we are working

Given the uncertainty of Evliya's word divisions, the relative vagueness of the Turkish, and the richness and variation of Romani demonstrative pronouns and exclamations, there are a number possible interpretations of the first two words of the Romani. Among these possibilities are the following:
ake kay keras = Behold [that] which we-do
aka kay keras = this [is that] which we-do
ak aka keras = Behold this we-do
ak kaka keras = Behold this we-do

akaka keras = This we-do

Note the 2 sg questions with 1 pl responses. This entry resembles one of the typical Serbian replies in this type of dialogue, viz. *radimo* 'we are working/we work'.

nuwkiy kr'z *ne işlersin* What are you doing?
buki keres 'work you-do'

Evliya's <n> is clearly a mistake in pointing, the dot should have been below rather than above the letter, which would have given <b>. In Paspati, *buki* is marked as Nomad. This form is another example of the shift of a dental to a palatal stop ([t́] or [ḱ]), in this case before /í/, the older form being *buti.*

'uwrda' pa'rda' karaz *ufaq defek işleyi-yürüz* We are doing this and that
hurda-murda (?) keras 'Odds-and-ends we-do'

Cf. Turkish (from Persian) hurdemürde 'trifles', cf. Romani *xurdo* 'little, small'. Gilliat-Smith reports *xurdimáta-murdimáta* 'odd and ends' in the Párpulia 'Gimlet-maker' Non-Vlah dialect. Loss of /x/ is characteristic of the Bulgarian dialects of the Gümülcine region and could have influenced the shape of this expression. The difference between /mu/ and /pa/ is problematic, but in view of the Turkish gloss and the Romani possibilities, this is the best I can do at the moment.

caba' bikan *var ṣat* Go sell
ca, be, biken! or caba, biken!

The imperatives of a-stem verbs such as 'go' are subject to considerable variation. We could thus have a vocative particle *be* or a lengthened imperative. (See below).

şuw by kanka'n *ne ṣatdıñ* What did you sell?
so bikengyan

buwl bkn kuwm *edepde göt ṣatdım* (begging your pardon) I sold ass
bul bikingyum 'ass I-sold'

This jotated aorist with a back rounded vowel in the 1 sg identifies this dialect unambiguously as Non-Vlah in Gilliat-Smith's terms and as Sedentary in Paspati's. Vlah dialects are characterized by a mid-front vowel in 1 sg aor (*bikindem*), and Nomad dialects do not have jotation (*bikindom*). Although the 1 sg aor is /o/ in many dialects, including the Sedentary described by Paspati, the ambiguities in Evliya's pointing also allow for /u/ as a possible interpretation. The form as it stands here is identical to modern Macedonian Arlija.

qana'ştah diya'n *kime göt verdiñ* To whom did you give ass?
kaneste diyan 'whom-loc you-gave'

Paspati gives nominative *kon* and locative (Paspati's dative 1) *kaleste* (Sedentary)/*kaste* (Nomad). What we have here appears to be a transitional stage between the older Sedentary and the innovating Nomad. The interchange of locative (-*te*) and dative (-*ke*) is quite common in this context.

The shape of the aorist, which involves the shift of palatal /ń/ to /y/ (older dinyum > diyum) is again Non-Vlah and Sedentary (cf. Párpulia and Kalaidji *dióm* in Gilliat-Smith, also modern Skopje Burgudži *diyum*). Here we are dealing with the later phenomenon of a palatal /ń/ that has been completely absorbed by the element that caused its palatalization in the first place. This represents a further development of the process that gave the older palatal /ń/ in the word for 'water'.

yak qa'l ba'lamah diyuwm *bir kāfirlere verdim* I gave it to a certain infidel
yekh kalb balame diyum 'one false Greek-acc I-gave'

According to Paspati, the term *kalb tchingiané* was used by Muslim Roms in referring to Christian Roms. Note that *dav bule* with the old locative of *bul* 'ass' is an idiom meaning literally 'butt-fuck' (Paspati 1973 [1870]:583, although it can also refer to vaginal intercourse, especially *a tergo*) and takes an accusative object. On the other hand, the verb 'give' can also take an accusative to indicate the indirect object as in *de man* 'give me [something]'. The sentence is thus potentially ambiguous. In view of the preceding

two or three sentences, one would expect a literal interpretation of 'I gave it to a dirty Greek', but without that context, one could just as easily translate the phrase 'I hit/fucked a dirty Greek'.

da'wuw las karah da'ya' puwpah *ben sikeyim bunuñ anasını*
Let me fuck this one's mother
dav oleskere daya buye 'I-give his mother-acc ass-[old loc]' = I fuck his mother

The form <puwpah> should undoubtedly be read *buye*. The first <p> is a mistake of mispointing (three dots for <p> instead of the one for <b>) or of Evliya's perception of a very tense [b]. The second <p> is merely a mispointing of three dots for the two of <y>. (Cf. the following example, where the <y> is correct). Gilliat-Smith gives *dai* 'mother' as Non-Vlah, vs Vlah *dei*, but the pointing in Evliya is not unambiguous.

da'maytah paya' puwyah *sikeyim ben de senüñ qız qarındaşıñı*
And let me fuck your sister
da me[y] te phe[n]ya bu[l]ye = 'and I your-obl sister-acc ass-old-loc'

Heinschink (1989:107) reports the forms *mej* and *tuj* [= *mey, tuy]* in the dialect of the Basket-weavers of Izmir who emigrated from the Salonika region of Aegean Macedonia in 1920.

Note the shift of both palatal /ń/ and palatal /ĺ/ to /y/ in this dialect. Gilliat-Smith reports *phejasa* 'sister-instr' but *buljása* and *dav bulé* for the Vlah Kalburdji 'Sieve-maker' dialect. The Non-Vlah Kalaidji 'Tinner' dialect loses palatal /ĺ/ and /ń/ in the aorist as does the Sedentary dialect on occasion. The shift of /ĺ/ to /y/ before a mid front vowel in *buye* is unusual (but cf. Mulcahy 1990).

na'na' yiylah ca'wuw qadintuw ma' *'ayb degil midir çekiş sögüşirsiñiz* Isn't it shameful that you are quarreling and swearing at each other?
nanay lacavo ka den tumen 'not shameful that give/hit-2-pl you-pl-nom/acc'

The form *nanay* is characterisic of Non-Vlah dialects, including Arlija. Vlah and some Non-Vlah dialects have *nai*. The

use of 'give' to mean 'hit' and with the personal pronoun as a reciprocal meaning 'fight' is well attested.

şar tana' das tuwţ *ya nice çekişmeyeyim* And why shouldn't I quarrel?
sar te na das/des tut 'how that not we-hit/you-sg-hit you-acc-sg'

There is a clear discepancy here between the Romani and the Turkish. Given the pointing the Romani could either mean 'how could you not fight' (*des*) or 'how could we not hit you' (*das*). The Turkish *çekişmeyeyim* would be in Romani *te na dav man.*

şaruw kiys 'awla' 'aquw şila' *her gün gelir baña söger* Every day he comes and swears at me
Sar o g[y]is av[e]la akuşela 'all the day comes swears'

In the word for 'day' we have another example of dental > mellow palatal before -í. Marsden has *Deeves.* The palatal and the vocalism of 'day' are Vlah (Gilliat-Smith Vlah *givés* vs Non-Vlah *diés*) and Nomad (Paspati Nomad *diés/dis* vs Sedentary *divés*, cf. also *buki* vs *buti* cited above).

The form *avla* (< *avela*) could represent the elision characteristic of some Arlija dialects, Evliya's perception of a reduced, unstressed /e/, or a mere accident of pointing. Gilliat-Smith reports initial *a-* in certain verbs, including 'swear at' as characteristic of Vlah.

ca'y 'ica'w 'uwlas qa'w qa'kis *var götür onı efendiye* Go take him to the master
ca igyav oles k-o kakes 'go bring him to the uncle'

Note the plain imperative meaning 'go'. The verb meaning 'bring' is appears to be transitional between a form recorded by Paspati, *anghiarav* (imperative *anghiar)*, and one reported by Uhlik, *igavav* (imperative *igav*). Etymologically, the verb is derived from *an-* 'bring, lead, carry' via the participle *ando/andi/ande* and causative formation. This verb appears to be subject to considerable dialectal variation (cf. Cortiade 1989:208-209).

'ica'w kuwm mar karkuwm 'uwlas *götürdüm dögdürdüm onı*
I took him and had him beaten
igyavgyum mar-kergyum oles 'I-brought beat-I-did him-acc'

1 sg aor as above.

muws 'ca'wkan 'uwlas *çünki götürdüñ dögdürdüñ onı* Because you took him and had him beaten
em os igyavgyan oles ='and since you-sg-brought him'

The second part of the Romani, which would have corresponded to the Turkish '[and] you had him beaten', must have been omitted. Apparently <muws> is supposed to correspond to Turkish *çünki* 'because, for, as since'. I suggest here the possibility that the Romani is from *em* (< Turkish *hem* 'and'; the dropped *h* and use as a single conjunction is well attested in Balkan Romani) + Greek *ōs* 'as, since'.

xaba' ma' minca'ta'r *yeyesiñ benim amımdan* Why don't you eat my cunt?
xa, be, [xaba] me mincatar 'Eat my cunt-abl'

The verb 'eat' is an a-verb like *ca* 'go' (see above).

şuwş katah xal muruwm timinç *cānım niçün yesin benim qocam seniñ amıñdan cānım* My dear, why should my husband eat your cunt?
soske te xal mo rom te minc 'why that eats my-nom husband your-obl cunt'

Note the final devoicing in *minç*.

tana' xala' ma'xal mabuw ya'ta'r *eger amımdan yemezse yesin götümden* If he doesn't eat my cunt let him eat my ass
te na xala me (mincatar te) xal me bu[l]yatar 'if not eats my-obl [cunt-abl that] eats my-obl ass-abl'

On the basis of the Turkish and the preceding sentences in the discourse, it appears that part of the Romani (indicated in parentheses) was omitted. Note again the change /í/ > /y/ in *buyatar.*

Comments on the Dialect of Gümülcine 1668

Romani dialects present a number of problems for structural analysis, and for both synchronic and diachronic classification. As is often the case with nomadic groups or groups including significant nomadic populations, inter-dialectal contact and borrowing can render the identification of native as opposed to borrowed features problematic at best. To this is added the paucity of older texts and the small number of synchronic studies in comparison with the large number of dialects. Older materials must be approached with considerable caution as their collectors were not always consistent in transcription and, as was mentioned earlier, were sometimes deliberately fooled by their informants (cf. Sampson 1911, 1927). Paspati (1973[1870]) distinguished two main European Romani dialects in Rumelia: Nomad and Sedentary. Gilliat-Smith (1915-16) makes a primary distinction between what he calls Vlah and non-Vlah, the terminology being based on the relatively large number of Romanian loanwords in the former group of dialects and their absence from the latter.[10] Paspati (1973[1870]:12) reports that the Sedentary Roms have borrowed many Greek and Turkish terms where the Nomads have preserved native Romani. Gilliat-Smith's distinction is still widely used for distinguishing two groups of Romani dialects in the Balkans, although it may not in fact be the shibboleth it was once thought to be. Thus, for example, two of the principal Romani dialects of Skopje--Arlija and Džambaz--are classed as Non-Vlah and Vlah, respectively, and also correspond more or less to Paspati's Sedentary and Nomad.

Within the context of the available classifications of Romani dialects closest to Gümülcine in space and time, viz. Paspati's of 1870 and Gilliat-Smith's of 1915-16, the dialect described by Evliya seems to be a Non-Vlah Sedentary type (cf. also Messing 1986). This is as might be expected, given Evliya's description of these Roms as settled in the major population center of Western Thrace. Nonetheless the dialect does display some Vlah or Nomad

features. These problems have two possible interpretations which are not mutually exclusive. 1) The features in question are parallel innovations in different dialects and therefore not diagnostic. 2) Certain features are in fact characteristic of an older dialectal division and subsequently members of each of these two groups came into contact and converged in other respects. The following table summarizes the most salient features from Evliya's vocabulary and their classification according to Paspati (1973[1870]) and Gilliat-Smith (1915-16), where S = Sedentary, N = Nomad, V = Vlah, and NV = Non-Vlah:

FEATURE	EXAMPLE	P	G-S
jotated aorist	bikengyan	S	NV
1 sg aor -um	bikingyum	S	NV
ĺ, ń > y	buyatar, diyum, pheya	S	NV
negation	nanai	S	NV
Greek loan	sika, [(e)m]os?	S	--
ṇḍ > nr	manro	S	V
l, n > ĺ, ń (> y) /-- í,é	pangi [?], buye	N?	V?
t, d > k, ǵ/-- í	buki, gis	N	V
ivé > í	gis	N	V
s ~ ş	maş	N	V?
verbs in a-	akuşela	--	V

The most striking overall feature in the Gümülcine dialect is the tendency to jotation and palatal mutation. These types of phenomena occur in the other Balkan languages and dialects, which suggests language-contact as a motivating factor. Of particular importance for Romani is the chronology of the loss of intervocalic /n/ before stressed /i/. According to the data reported by Marsden a century later, palatal /ń/ could still be heard in the word for 'water' in Rumelia. To this can be added relative conservatism in the treatment of older /ṇḍ/ and innovation in the use of pre-verbal a-. Although the backing of palatalized dentals to dorso-palatals in the lexical items *buki* and *gis* is identified as Nomad and Vlah, Sedentary and Non-Vlah dialects have precisely this type of change for jotated dentals in the aorist. It is possible, therefore, that the isogloss for the former overlaps with that of the

latter. Despite the small size of the corpus, the combination of features in the material recorded by Evliya from the Romani dialect of Gümülcine suggests that the basic dialect divisions based on Paspati and Gilliat-Smith are in need of modification or revision.

Notes

Acknowledgments. I would like to thank Eric P. Hamp of the University of Chicago for his helpful suggestions concerning the interpretation of the Romani data.

[1]I am discounting Hodgson (1973), since both of the magical formulae which he cites are evidently taken from Leland (1962 [1891]:100, 111), where they are described as contemporary rituals, not gleanings from ancient manuscripts.

[2]For more on Evliya's languages see Dankoff (1989).

[3]The use of a haček over a vowel indicates that the preceding consonant is jotated in some dialects but not in others, e.g. in the aorist.

[4]The term 'Gypsy' is being used to translate the following words and phrases used by Evliya: 1) *çingane* (plural *çinganeler*), Modern Turkish *çingene.* This is the most common word corresponding to 'Gypsy' and the one that Evliya uses throughout his text except where otherwise noted; 2) *qıpṭī* (Turkish plural *qıpṭīler*, Arabic plural *qabābıṭa*) used for both 'Copt' and 'Gypsy'; 3) *qavm-ı ferā'ine[ler]* 'people of the pharaohs'.

[5]Pointing in the text, by a later hand, is wrong; for the corrrect form see X 9b.2.

[6]The form in the text, *min küll cebbār 'anīd,* is not an exact quotation. The printed text substitutes Koran 14:15 *ve-xābe küll cebbār 'anīd* (And every stubborn tyrant went for nought); but Evliya could also have been thinking of 11:59 *ve'ttebe'ū küll cebbār 'anīd* (And they followed every stubborn tyrant) or 50:24 *elqıyā fī cehennem küll cebbār 'anīd* (Throw into hell every stubborn tyrant).

[7]Blank space; cf. IX 72a.12f. (146), description of Balat, no mention of Gypsies or their language.

[8]X 422a.12 (908), 422b.3 (909), Q339b.27 (963). For the Banyan communities, see X 436a.15 (939), 438b.10f. (944), 442b.3f. (953).

[9]Gilliat-Smith uses the spelling *Vlach*. See the commentary for more on these classifications.

[10]Paspati (1973[1870]:13) reports that the Nomads refer to the Sedentaries by the term *Laxos* 'Wallachian [Vlah]', among others. However, the Nomad dialects appear to be closer to those Gilliat-Smith classes as Vlah. None of the dialects described by Paspati, however, has the front vowel in the 1 sg aor (-em) that appears to be an essential characteristic of the Vlah dialects.

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Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society 5, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1991)

A Case Study of *Rom* Gypsy Residential Mobility in the United States

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While members of the Gypsy ethnic minority in the United States are often stereotyped as wanderers by outsiders, their residential mobility remains a neglected study. This paper explores the decision-to-move process of some Rom Gypsies, and the pattern of its outcomes. Although there are few reliable statistics about the thousands of Rom Gypsies residing in the United States, a case study method can provide preliminary insights into their residential mobility. This is a case study of one Rom Gypsy nuclear family covering movements over a twenty-two year period (1968-1990). While this single example cannot add much to the scientific study of general demographic trends nationwide, it can increase understanding of Rom Gypsy life. Topics introduced include 1) the frequency and distance of their moves; 2) the characteristics of their settlement; 3) the distinctiveness of their decision-to-move process; 4) changes in their residential mobility over time. The research draws primarily from personal field notes.

Introduction

What determines the mobility of contemporary households in our multicultural American society? Why do people relocate from place to place? How do individual families make their residential location decisions? These are important and interesting questions for residential

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mobility studies but, in fact, censuses "almost never" ask movers why they moved (Long 1988:227).[1] Not surprisingly, there are as yet no grand theories, proven methods, nor easy answers for these and many other seemingly simple questions being asked by social scientists involved in residential mobility studies. Geographers, in particular, are sometimes frustrated by insufficient or inaccurate data when attempting to map out changes in residential mobility over time.

Their frustration increases when the data base needed for mapping mobility is non-existent, as may the the case for members of little-known and secretive ethnic minority populations in the United States.[2] Among these ethnic populations Gypsies are an especially interesting case for residential mobility studies.[3] They, more than any other minority in American society, have been long stereotyped by majority outsiders as "vagabonds" and "wanderers." For lack of a reliable data base no one really knows to what extent this stereotype is accurate. Moreover, this stereotype obfuscates differing mobility characteristics among the different Gypsy sub-cultures. Gypsies arrived in the United States from different origins, along different migration routes, and at different times, to form an ever-changing composite of several related yet distinct American Gypsy sub-cultures, each exhibiting a characteristic imprint of inherited or favored occupations and industries. Accordingly, each sub-culture has exhibited more or less different characteristics of residential choice and mobility after immigrating. The residential choice and mobility of one Rom Gypsy nuclear family is the topic of this paper.

The Gypsy studies literature includes at least one model describing changing mobility patterns over time for Rom Gypsies in the United States (Cotten 1950:26; Gropper 1975: 18-21; see also Salo and Salo 1977:175-181). That model describes the gradual urbanization of Rom residential patterns beginning after immigration. Actual cases, including the case presented in this paper, demonstrate that some Rom Gypsies in the United States—even those within the same extended families—are more mobile than others at any given time. For example, in a 1973 survey of Rom Gypsies in a northwestern city ten of the informants had moved once with their entire households within the past year, while twenty-one had moved more than once in that time, and one had moved as many as ten times (Tyrner-Stastny 1977:24).[4]

A scientific residential mobility study of the Rom Gypsy group, a diverse Gypsy sub-culture in itself, cannot be based on just one or two cases. Nevertheless, basic questions can still be posed for the entire Rom Gypsy group while observing even one case. Tentative answers for at least some of these questions may begin to form as insights provided by the case study.[5]

Gypsies as a Special Problem in Residential Mobility Studies

National census-based population and housing statistics in the United States have yet to provide enough reliable information to support any scientific study of Rom Gypsy residential mobility. The most frustrating problem with the census data is its inability to identify and count the Rom Gypsy sub-population whose movements are being studied.[6] Social scientists can hardly discover whether or not Rom Gypsies are a stable or mobile sub-population of Americans if people cannot even be identified as Gypsies, much less as members of a variegated Gypsy sub-culture like the Rom.

This is unfortunate because the census has included housing and employment as topics on its questionnaires since 1940. Important questions related to occupation, place of work, home ownership, and even journey to work have been asked. Moreover, questions like "year moved into residence," and "residence in 1985" were asked during the 1990 census. But these most relevant of questions were posed to only 17% of the population. Moore (1972:47) while summarizing "the basic problems arising with the use of Census data," adds another; that national census data have never provided a clue about intra-urban residential mobility of any population group. "The data ignore inter and intra-tract flows within the city and no account [has been] made of multiple moves within the designated period prior to the Census."

Due to omissions and limitations in the national census data of the United States,[7] social scientists studying the residential mobility of urban sub-populations like Rom Gypsies are forced to turn to some alternative data sources. These alternative sources include election registers, school records, telephone directories, public utility connection records, and in-depth interviews. While these alternative information sources may be reliable for some population sub-groups, they are not useful for some others.

Most of the data sources mentioned above have been unreliable indicators for tracking the residential mobility of the nuclear family of Rom Gypsies introduced in this paper. In general, these Rom have not worked for wages nor paid income taxes. Their children have attended school infrequently, and only at the elementary levels, and they have often changed schools. They have had neither bank accounts nor checkbooks. They have used nicknames and aliases wherever possible. And they have lied and omitted information during structured interviews. An additional method, the one used to accumulate materials presented in this case study, is long-term participant observation that enables close spatial and social proximity to family residential mobility and decision-making.

The residential mobility of one nuclear family of Rom Gypsies observed over a twenty-two year period, from 1968 to 1990, is highlighted below.[8] The members of this family—introduced as "Victor's family" in this paper—have successfully avoided or complicated systematic attempts by private and government agencies to trace their movements through time. As indicated, whenever confronted by officials and other strangers asking personal questions, Victor and his family appeared to cooperate; in fact, they often did not. When accused of lying and fraud, they have simply pleaded ignorance, illiteracy or illness. In situations where most Americans have been proud, or at least willing, to "stand up and be counted," Victor's family has usually faded into protective obscurity; analogies to the survival strategies of turtles and chameleons immediately come to mind. Victor once explained that "when you plug into the system, the meters start turning." Next to the lie, residential mobility was an effective way for him to avoid plugging into the system and paying its dues.

Sources for this Study

This residential mobility study of Victor's family is reconstructed from personal field notes in journals that date from 1968. My field notes include family migration lore that begins with the late 19th-century wedding of Victor's grandparents.[9] After introducing the migration lore, I will briefly trace the residential mobility of Victor's nuclear family after 1967. Then I will introduce some of the factors that influenced their decisions to move and their residential choices. My comments are organized around four questions: 1) What was the frequency and distance of their moves? 2) What were the characteristics of their settlement? 3)

What was distinctive about their decision-to-move process? 4) How did their residential mobility change over time?

Family Migration Lore

The residential mobility study is prefaced here with some migration lore from Victor's extended family's large body of oral history.[10] Fodoro migration lore begins with the marriage of Victor's grandfather Adam Fodoro to Matrona in the 1890s, in Vladivostok, a major port city in Russian East Asia. Some years later, Adam and his wife and several of their children, together with some of his close relatives migrated to South America from Greece. From there, some of this group moved on to Panama, where they worked as coppersmiths for the Panama Canal project (circa 1910). They traveled into Mexico sometime during its civil war (ended 1915), and arrived in the United States late during that same decade.

Adam Fodoro, his wife, children (and by then some grandchildren), located first in New York City, then in Chicago. They were "service nomads" at that time, semi-itinerant traders and repairpersons[11] who traveled frequently throughout the United States and Canada, mainly during spring, summer and fall. They passed the winter in these large cities. The Fodoro family eventually developed a strong territorial base of power in one city in eastern Michigan.

After the Second World War the entire clan[12] migrated west, taking a southern route that runs through Albuquerque, New Mexico. They were nearly forced to settle in Albuquerque on account of Matrona's poor health. She was by then so frail with age, and short-winded, that her family was afraid to cross the high mountains looming ahead, for fear that the thin air on the mountain pass might kill her. After a week of discussions, they rented an ambulance with an attendant and oxygen tank to carry her over the mountains and then onward to California. Victor spoke fondly of the "tire fires" and songfests they enjoyed during their long, adventurous desert crossing and many encampments.

They arrived at the Pacific coast in southern California, and eventually based their winter activities in rented houses in a municipal enclave within the greater Los Angeles metropolitan area. They had wintered near this area on earlier occasions when traveling with carnivals (Nemeth 1979). Here they passed themselves off as "Mexicans" and as "Greeks" to avoid anti-Gypsy prejudice, meanwhile forming economic

alliances with those territorial Gypsy families who preceded them to California, and who claimed and guarded Los Angeles for themselves.

The Fodoros also frequented many cities and towns in and near the Pacific Coast, often taking extended leave from their Los Angeles base camp. They would rent temporary summer housing in California, Oregon, and Washington cities, but usually gravitated back to familiar Los Angeles neighborhoods during winter, where they continued to enhance their reputation and prestige by contributing to and participating in the large Rom Gypsy community there. Older members of the Fodoro family became sedentary to protect the local interests of their group. Younger members of the clan, like Victor, maintained wide ranging business itineraries and social connections that took them to the eastern United States frequently.

Adam Fodoro was entertaining the idea of moving the entire clan from California to Alaska at the time of his death. Fairbanks is close to Vladivostok, so Adam would have nearly circled the world during his lifetime. Members of five generations of his large and rapidly growing extended family are now buried with him in Los Angeles' Calvary Cemetery.

The Fodoro migration lore offers some initial insights into Rom cultural factors influencing Fodoro mobility and their decision-to-move processes in the past, including: authoritarian leadership; propensity to mass migration; territorial behavior; inherited occupational trait-complexes; respect for elders; cosmopolitan spirit; economic opportunism. The influence of many of these cultural factors persists to the present, as indicated in the following case study.

Victor's Family; Frequency and Distance of Moves

Figure 1 describes the frequency and distance of residential moves over a twenty-two year period, from 1968-1990, for the nuclear family of Adam Fodoro's grandson, "Victor." Victor was born in the early 1920s in Pennsylvania. His occupational specialty was the on-site repair of kitchen equipment and utensils, which required a semi-itinerant lifestyle.

Residental mobility for Victor's nuclear family is described as "A" on Figure 1. The changing size and composition of his household during this time are also indicated. Victor and his family appear to have been fairly active intra-urban migrants. For over two-thirds of a 22-year time span

they have resided as renters in seven houses, all located within a small part of the Los Angeles metropolitan region. The remaining third of the time represents, for the most part, residence in Bullballus, a town located approximately seventy miles outside of Los Angeles' city limits, where Victor's household occupied two rented houses on separate occasions.

"Other" places of residence indicated on Figure 1 included cities in Illinois, Texas, Oregon, and Washington and were of much shorter duration. There was also a brief move to Stockton, California. In all, Victor's household resided in 14 houses during 22 years between 1968 and 1990. Nine of these houses represent a total of twenty years residency in or near Los Angeles.

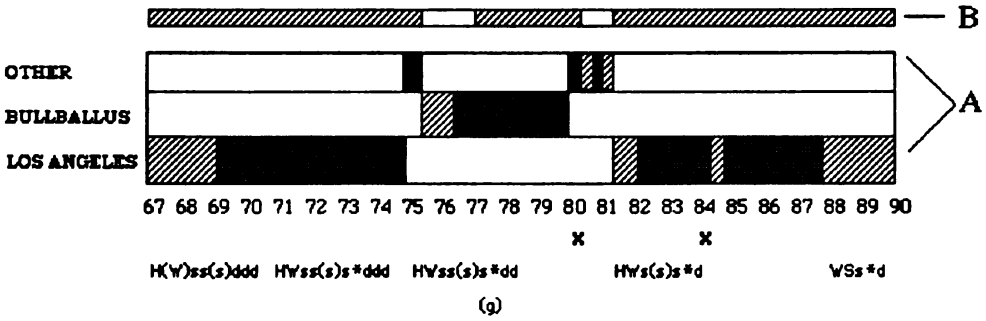


Figure 1
Twenty-two years of residential mobility for Victor's family.

"A" represents locations of residence, with interruptions in shading representing a residential move. Shaded "B" represents time when Victor's family lived within five miles of his close relatives. Size and composition of household is indicated below the time line. Symbols represent the following:

H	husband	( )	part-time resident
W	wife	X	death in the family
S	married son	g	grandson
s	unmarried son	*	needs constant attention
d	unmarried daughter		

Characteristics of Settlement in Los Angeles

The frequency and distance of Victor's residential moves diagrammed in Figure 1 emerge from field data that can also be mapped to reveal something of a core and boundaries to a Fodoro extended family settlement district in Los Angeles. Figure 2 suggests the author's mental map of the Fodoro settlement district, wherein some useful places that are perceived as landmarks by the Rom community are also indicated. Victor's family spent most of the past two decades residing deep within the settlement core and within certain boundaries. The core and its boundaries were identified by an agglomeration of Fodoro family units residing within overlapping municipal, state and federal districts that provided them with valuable public social services. The Fodoro settlement was nurtured by the largely informal economies of the diverse Rom clans and tribes whose members were adept at exploiting non-Gypsy bureaucracies in ways that protected and sustained the Rom lifestyle. Over their many years of residence in the Fodoro settlement district, Victor and his wife became very familiar with local laws and procedures, while establishing business relationships with some useful non-Gypsies, including doctors, welfare workers, pawnbrokers and policemen.

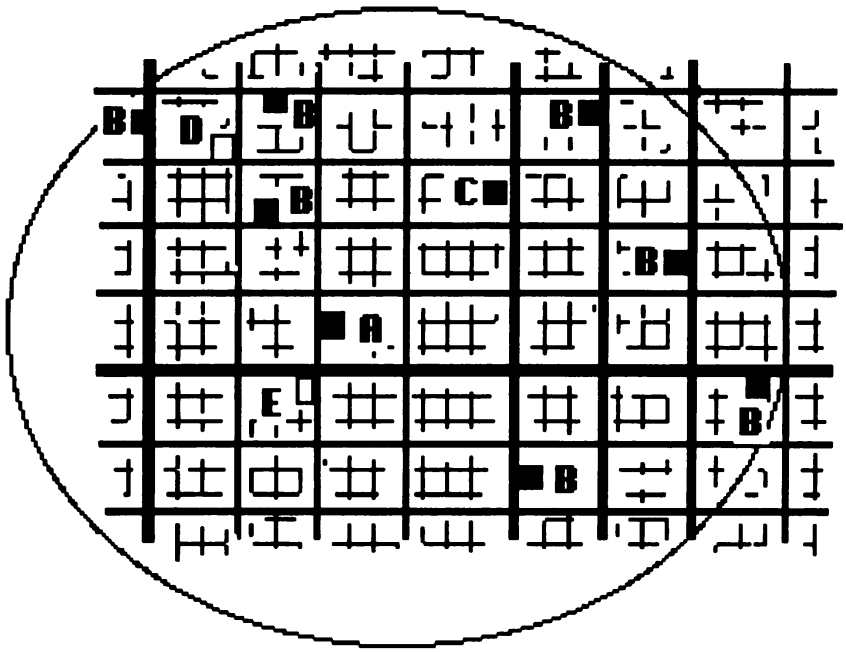
Consider, for example, the landmark pawnshop in the Fodoro settlement. It completely satisfied Victor's frequent need for small cash loans, so he completely ignored the numerous conventional banks and other mainstream financial institutions in the neighborhood. For three decades, two generations of pawnbrokers at this one location had served four generations of the Fodoro family members surrounding it. This pawn shop, like most, lent money only on the basis of collateral and did not ask for the sort of detailed information to determine credit risk that most other lending agencies required (Caskey and Zikmund 1990:11). Victor always had several pieces of jewelry (rings and bracelets) in pawn "for safekeeping." He never complained about the high rates of interest, nor did he ever forfeit an item.[13] Victor and other members of the Fodoro clan patronized this single pawnshop for decades. They chose to reside nearby, with convenient access to its discreet and reliable financial services. The pawnbrokers at this central location also provided an additional service to the Rom as their clearinghouse for residential addresses. This was useful because they relocated so often, sometimes on short notice. For example,

if Victor's distant cousin from New York was visiting Los Angeles, but didn't have Victor's current address, he could probably discover it at the pawn shop.

Additional landmarks in and near the Fodoro settlement district included government welfare offices, the "Gypsy" doctor's office, the Sunday flea market, the "Gypsy" hospital, and at a safe yet accessible distance of several miles – the "Gypsy" cemetery. The "Gypsy" qualifier here indicates that Victor and his relatives frequented these particular landmarks and had established "special" mutually beneficial arrangements with their owners and administrators. Proximity to the "Gypsy" hospital was especially important in view of the "remarkable prevalence of heart disease, diabetes, and hypertension" among Rom Gypsies that apparently resulted in a low average life expectancy (Thomas 1988). The "Gypsy" section of a Catholic cemetery where members of five generations of the Fodoro clan are now buried was a constant source of anxiety for Victor who out of respect made occasional visits, but who was also quite fearful of ghosts.

The chief landmark in the Fodoro settlement was the patriarch's house, where family members often gathered, and near to which they preferred to reside. Victor, for example, consistently chose to reside near his father and other relatives. The time line "B" on Figure 1 indicates that Victor's residences were almost always located within five miles of his close relatives: his father, uncles and aunts, and married daughters (see also note 16).

Although Victor consistently clustered with relatives in their patch of Los Angeles' suburban sprawl during the study period, Fodoro clan members never lived "cheek by jowl" with one another. The result was that no Rom "ethnic village" settlement materialized on the social landscape, in contrast to the "Chinatown," "Koreatown," and "Little Tokyo" that came to identify the concentrated settlements of some other ethnic minorities in Los Angeles. This is not surprising since mobility and anonymity have long served the economic interests of the majority of Los Angeles' Rom, excepting those licensed fortune-telling specialists operating out of their residences. These latter often owned their homes, and some owned additional properties as well.



A Victor's household
C Patriarch's house
E Liquor store
B Fodoro households
D Pawnshop
◯ Administrative boundaries

Figure 2
"Mental map" of Fodoro settlement district.

A "mental map" is an experiential diagram characterizing a place. The author's mental map of the Fodoro settlement district in 1969 reveals the nuclear families dispersed along major thoroughfares yet forming a core within definite boundaries. Victor's household at that time occupied a rental house near a liquor store, and was within range of a pawnshop where he often did business. He could almost immediately access his relatives. The major landmark in the settlement district was that of the patriarch of the extended family. Residing within government administrative boundaries provided welfare benefits and police protection. The "Gypsy" hospital and cemetery were located not far beyond the settlement boundary, within easy driving distance.

During the study period Victor always occupied rented houses facing a heavily traveled boulevard and was within walking distance of a liquor store or tavern. Similarly, most Fodoro clan members resided in rented houses located primarily along a dense grid of heavily traveled thoroughfares that criss-crossed their settlement district. This particular Fodoro settlement pattern may be generalized to other Rom settlements in North America, as indicated in a settlement map for some Canadian Rom provided by Salo and Salo (1977:182). Victor's regular proximity to liquor stores was the result of his idiosyncratic choice rather than Fodoro custom. Rom houses in the settlement district were separated by approximately two to five city blocks, on average, but there was easy access between them, and to the aforementioned landmarks (see Figure 2).

This dispersed linear/grid pattern of Fodoro settlement, with nuclear families living in temporary housing, is explained in part by family custom and superstition, but mainly by the competitive and opportunistic nature of Rom economics. Victor and most of his relatives bought and sold used cars, trucks and boats. They used their front yards along the major traffic arteries as their "showrooms." Dispersed settlement was necessary in this case to spread their supply of cars more evenly within the demand area, and also to avoid attracting unwanted attention to themselves and their organized informal economy. This dispersed pattern of residence within the Fodoro settlement was no barrier to social interaction between Fodoro clan members because their access to one another by automobile and by telephone was immediate, or nearly so. Additional insight into competitive Rom Gypsy informal economies and typical Rom occupations and industries are provided by Boles (1958), Gropper (1975), Sutherland (1975) and Salo (1981; 1987).

Salo (1987:97) has written about the urban Rom preference for rental housing in this regard:

> Rental sites tend to cluster to keep relatives within easy reach of one another although business requirements may demand a more scattered habitation. The availability of rental housing seems to have played an important part in the overall settlement pattern and thus in their relationships to the resources of a particular area.

In Victor's case, Fodoro family customs and taboos restricted his choice of new residence entirely to house rentals. He shunned apartment living no matter how desperate for housing, claiming that apartment living

was "dirty."[14] Victor also took care to verify the purity and safety of any house he might rent. He interrogated landlords about the habits and circumstances of prior tenants, and was especially concerned that no one had ever died in a house he planned to rent. This matter of wraiths always had priority over structural integrity during Victor's house inspections.

Fear of ghosts in fact was endemic to Victor's clan. Victor's daughter's husband once rented a house facing a park. When the family heard that the park across the street had once been a cemetery, they moved immediately. Shortly after a death in one Rom family a close relative claimed to see the ghost of the deceased in the dining room of their newly rented house, whereupon he dived out through the window. The family abandoned that house the next day. In general, a death at home in any Rom family in the Los Angeles settlement precipitated an immediate change of residence.

On moving into a house Victor and his wife would perform a lengthy purification rite for each room. Much anxiety and effort could be avoided by occupying houses whose prior tenants were known to be "clean" Gypsies. This was the ideal solution to housing selection, as the Rom recycled many of the same houses among themselves during the study period.

Some residential choices in the Fodoro settlement district appear totally unexpected, viewed in the larger context of world history. Victor's cousin rented a house that met all the stringent conditions of Fodoro dwellings except that it was next door to the American Nazi Party national headquarters. The Nazis lived in a sturdy house barely visible behind approximately 10 cords of wood stacked in rows in their front yard. Barbed wire encircled the entire lot. Three Doberman pinschers patrolled inside. A small sign on the front fence read "Firewood For Sale." Victor's cousin said he "felt safe" with Nazis for neighbors. For his part, the Nazi leader knew about "the Gypsies next door" and volunteered that they were "good people."[15]

The Decision to Move Process

When to move was just as important a decision as where to reside. Whereas no debate ever accompanied eviction by ghosts, most Fodoro moves were ideally deliberated within the extended family. Their decision-making process reflected attempts to balance Rom cultural values

with economic realities. In general, Victor was a particularly independent, autocratic and impulsive decision-maker, and this carried over to his residential mobility decisions.

In two instances where Victor temporarily moved farther away from close relatives, his decision was motivated mainly by crises internal to the extended family. These internal disputes within the Fodoro family that involved Victor, who was extremely hot-headed, threatened to attract the unwanted attention of outsiders: police, newspaper reporters, curious neighbors, and so on. Family feuding also risked fracturing Fodoro clan solidarity. In order to preserve local economic viability, and to spare his clan a loss of reputation within the larger Gypsy community, Victor left town.[16]

Economic reality had in particular influenced Victor's decision to move process during the study period. Over the years he lost the ability to support his family as a service nomad, mainly because of a long series of injuries and illness in his nuclear family. These, however, created some new sources of steady income from government and private welfare sources.[17] Residential mobility jeopardized rather than enhanced maintaining these new economic patterns of welfare dependency, which required Victor to maintain continued close physical proximity to the local welfare office. This relates to a more general conclusion based on 1980 census data that "for the poor on welfare, some migration-inhibiting effects probably existed" (Long 1988:166).

Some sudden moves of Fodoro families during the study period were triggered by short-term economic problems. For example, Fodoro car dealers sometimes moved to escape the wrath of dissatisfied customers, which was bad for business (as well as dangerous). Moves were also triggered by the same cyclical economic downturns that affected both Gypsies and non-Gypsies. When the Fodoro patriarch was planning to move the entire clan from Los Angeles to Alaska, it was due to a widespread economic slump throughout the contiguous United States.

Some of Victor's relatives actually left Los Angeles for Houston, Texas, during the mid-1970s because the local economy there was very strong relative to the Los Angeles economy. When the Texas economy began to collapse in the early 1980s, these Rom moved on to Atlanta, which was thriving. Rom who remained in Los Angeles survived as well because there was less competition.

Rom sometimes left Los Angeles on mere sojourns, without changing their residences. Rumors of police crackdowns targeting Gypsies motivated some Gypsy families to "take vacations." At other times real and perceived threats of natural disasters triggered mass evacuations. Earthquakes were a good excuse for Fodoro family members to retreat to Las Vegas, Nevada, for a week or more.

Members of the Fodoro clan occasionally made religious pilgrimages. Some journeyed great distances to visit what were reported by the Gypsy grapevine to be "miracle" shrines, in attempts to restore health, gain longevity or procure good luck. Victor's superstitions strongly influenced his everyday decisions about work, and the timing and location of residential moves. His own patron saint was St. Anne; in his youth he often visited her shrine at Ste-Anne-de-Beaupré near Quebec City in eastern Canada. During the study period he traveled to eastern Canada but once; St. Anne's icon was nevertheless always prominent in Victor's own household shrine, and traveled with him from residence to residence to preserve, purify and protect his "luck."

Changes in Residential Mobility Over Time

Victor's ability to move—the true test of mobility—was once free and easy. He always slept in his trousers, prepared to bolt for the car at a moment's notice. All his possessions fit into any one of the three large station wagons he purchased in succession during the study period, and into a small, sturdy trailer they pulled between residences during their years of service. The trailer was always garaged and waiting, half-packed. Additional household possessions were those that could be quickly gathered and loaded for departure. Icons, musical instruments, and favorite cooking pots led the list. A few pieces of bulky furniture—couches mainly—were always being purchased on long-term credit for a few dollars a month. These were expendable and could be left behind, in the case of unplanned or long-distance moves. The rent deposit held by the landlord could be forfeited, too. In the early part of the study period Victor's solution to locating cheap new housing in the proper location was merely to rent houses where "clean" Gypsies were prior occupants. His ease of mobility was not to last.

Serious limitations on Victor's residential mobility developed during the latter years of the study period. Those cultural restrictions and

personal idiosyncracies that severely limited Victor's residential choices to "clean" rental housing on major boulevards near liquor stores within the Fodoro settlement district could be satisfied only when rental housing exceeded market demand. Victor's mobility was certain to decrease when housing demand began to exceed supply. Beginning in the late 1970s, "tough, Chinese landlords" began to dominate the rental housing market, and soaring rents, increased competition with multitudes of new immigrants for rental housing, and decreased rental housing availability in the Fodoro settlement district, all combined to drastically reduce residential mobility opportunities for Victor and his relatives.

Increasingly, landlords in this seller's market refused to rent to Gypsies. Victor sympathized with those landlords victimized by Gypsy tenants who had run out on their rent and utility bills, stolen fixtures, or otherwise damaged houses. He and his relatives were always careful to avoid landlord abuse in order to maintain the availability of future rentals for Fodoro family members. However, members of other Gypsy clans and tribes were less cautious. Anti-Gypsy sentiment among landlords thus aggravated the housing shortage. The result was that with no guarantee that satisfactory replacement housing could be found in case of a move, Victor's family was nearly immobilized towards the end of the study period. After a sudden move in the mid-1980s Victor's family was finally forced to rent a house on a quiet, interior street. This move coincided with the conversion of the entire family from Orthodox Catholicism to evangelical Christianity. Profound changes in attitudes about their traditions and beliefs, including residential choice, accompanied conversion and helped to mitigate some anxieties within Victor's family about this new location.[18]

Concluding Comments

This residential mobility study for Victor's family has briefly surveyed the frequency and distance of their moves, characteristics of their settlement, the distinctiveness of their decision-to-move process, and changes in their residential mobility over time.

During 22 years of residential mobility Victor was never a home owner nor was he employed for wages. In this he was atypical of most Americans living above the poverty line. Yet it remains uncertain if Victor actually had greater residential mobility than the average American just

because he always rented houses and operated his own unlicensed mobile firm. In fact, Victor's residential mobility seems not unusually high when compared to that of the average American population over the long span of the study period. For example, Moore reported in 1972 that approximately one-fifth of the American population changed their residence every year, that half of the American population made a residential move at least once in six years, and that the majority of residential moves in America were within five miles of their point of origin. Long (1990:48-49) reports that renters among 44,000 American households surveyed by the Census Bureau in 1987 had lived in their then-current residences a median of only 20 months, and that the median distance for movers was only six miles.

Victor's nuclear family resided in 14 rented houses during 22 years between 1968 and 1990, but eight of his houses he occupied for one year or less. He occupied one house for more than six years, and five houses for two years or longer. His longest occupancy, toward the beginning of the study period, was in a house to which he had a strong emotional tie. This was his "lucky" house, occupied at a time when his family was large and young. The second longest occupancy for Victor's family, toward the end of the study period, was in a house they could not vacate for fear of not finding another.

Victor's attachment to a place and anxiety over economic insecurity characterize factors that might influence anyone's decision to move and their residential choice, not just the decision and choice of a Gypsy. In addition to slow economic growth, Rogerson (1987:346) has suggested that increased female labor market participation and unfavorable housing market conditions were factors explaining a general decline in national mobility rates since 1947. An unfavorable housing market was certainly a major factor in the Rom decision-to-move process during the latter part of the study period. The importance of increased female labor market participation on Victor's residential mobility was irrelevant until recently, when one of Victor's daughters began to work part-time for wages near their present residence.

Rogerson discounts the old assumption that a typical American household moves in order to establish a satisfactory link between home and work. On the surface, the journey-to-work factor would seem never to have influenced Victor's residential choices due to his informal economy and the nature of service nomadism. However, the need for continued close

proximity to the wellspring of hard-won welfare benefits had an effect on Victor's family's residential mobility similar to a journey-to-work factor. Every decision to move, every residential choice, had implications for their continuing welfare benefits. The local welfare office, in essence, became the workplace in the residential mobility equation for Victor's family when they made residential choice decisions.

Rom belief, custom, and Victor's idiosyncracies were also important factors in his movements and residential choice decisions. Victor more than once moved in order to change his luck. But this is not a reason for residential mobility unique to Victor, though it would appear to be eccentric behavior to many Americans; some East Asian peoples are known to change their residences for the same reason. The concept of purity that influenced Victor's residential choices is even more closely related to the general body of Rom customs and taboos, but even these purity concepts are not unique in the world to Rom or to Gypsies.

This case study of the residential mobility of Victor's family provides examples of decisions made by members of one ethnic minority, and serves as a reminder that diversity among American subpopulations still offers some exciting and enriching variations on general themes in demographic research that may have been overlooked, ignored or misunderstood. This study indicates, in the case of Victor's family and the Fodoro clan, that some regularities may exist in patterns of ethnic group settlement in urban areas despite an absence of data about the movements of individual group members. In addition, the study reveals some unexpected diversity in the structure of multi-ethnic urban residential districts that remain unexplored by social scientists.

Victor's example also illustrates how easy it once was, by mastering techniques of residential mobility, for Rom Gypsies to maintain both their informal economies and community of close contact without exposing themselves to unwanted outside attention. The anonymity of automobile-oriented metropolitan suburban life served them well. The study also suggests how difficult it may become for some Rom to maintain their anonymity and cultural integrity without their mobility.

Notes

Acknowledgments. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 1990 annual meeting of the Gypsy Lore Society.

[1]Mobility in broad interpretation means the ability to move. More narrowly defined, it is the movement from one location to another. Residential mobility is the movement of households within urban areas, and is sometimes called "intraurban" movement. By contrast, residential moves between and beyond cities--interurban, intercounty, interstate, and interregional moves--are technically known as migrations. McKee(1985:xi) elaborates on the technical concept of migrations as "movement involving a permanent change in residence for a substantial period of time in a new political unit." Persons who make this permanent change in their residence are both movers and migrants if their move takes them into a new political unit. Thus, all migrants are movers but not all movers are migrants; intraurban movers are not migrants. Unfortunately, there appears to be no general agreement as to what constitutes a political unit, particularly below the county level.

[2]"A minority refers to persons who are members of a social group that comprises less than one-half of a total population," according to McKee (1985:xii).

[3]Raoul Naroll (1964) defines an ethnic group as one whose members are biologically self-perpetuating, share in fundamental cultural values, make up a distinct field of communication and interaction, and identify themselves (and are identified by others) as members of that ethnic group. The nature of Gypsy ethnicity has been discussed in Salo (1979).

The "Gypsy ethnic minority" in the United States, considered broadly as "Gypsies" in this paper, glosses some important distinctions between identified Gypsy ethnic sub-cultures. "Rom Gypsies," for the purposes of this paper, are one major sub-group comprising people that share in Rom ethnic group characteristics. For example, the Rom are Romani-speaking peoples who prefer to share a common gene pool, and prefer doing other things *Romanes*, or, "the Gypsy way."

The Gypsy ethnic minority in the United States is a sub-population neither indexed nor mapped in *We the People: The Atlas of America's*

Ethnic Diversity (1988), an award-winning geographical portrayal of national origin groups in the United States that is based on the 1980 census. Nor do Gypsies appear in *Ethnicity in Contemporary America: A Geographical Appraisal* (1985), a reader used in many university-level ethnic geography classes. Geographers and others may surmise from these sources that there are no Gypsies in the United States to be mapped, or that their numbers and distributions are insignificant. However, Gypsies are included in *The Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (1980:440-445), and are estimated to number between tens and hundreds of thousands there. The first and only published map of Gypsy distributions for the entire United States is by Gropper (1975:19). Her rudimentary map reveals only contemporary Gypsy concentrations in America's largest cities, yet it serves to undermine the old stereotype of a once predominantly rural and now extinct Gypsy lifestyle in the United States.

[4]Tyrner-Stastny cites the source for this mobility data as an unpublished report by Carol Miller, "The Roma of Washington State," 1973.

[5]According to Mitchell (1983:12) a case study may prove valuable as an aid toward discerning both important general problems and their possible theoretical solutions. However, the single case offered here lacks heuristic value at this time due to numerous gaps in the family and mobility data.

[6]Only a sample of householders were selected to answer 1980 open-ended census questions relating to their ethnic origins and language preferences. Responses were problematic for many ethnic groups, including Gypsies. Most efforts at Gypsy census taking have been "notoriously unsuccessful" according to Tyrner-Stastny (1977:21). If asked about their national origin, race or ethnicity, members of the Rom Gypsy family discussed in this paper would normally respond "American," "Russian," or "Greek," but not "Gypsy."

[7]Some European countries including Sweden, Holland and Belgium maintain continuous population registers. These registers provide the means for their governments to track the residential mobility of their citizens with reasonable accuracy.

[8]Highlighting rather than detailing results in a report replete with gaps, but nevertheless useful for generating scholarly interest in Rom

Gypsy residential patterns and choices. This paper is, therefore, a preliminary discussion and not a final report. Some obvious gaps in the family and mobility data are intentional, either to protect sources or to preserve materials that require further analysis before publication. Other gaps can perhaps be filled during future field work.

[9]Problems with Rom family lore and life histories as data sources are discussed in Salo (1977:1-11). Fodoro family members keep no written accounts of their migration histories, nor have they displayed any "official" confirmations – dated travel documents, birth certificates, and so on – to support their credibility. The migration lore is fairly consistent in content, and the Fodoro family accepts it as entertaining and "true." Verification of Victor's family migration lore can perhaps someday be accomplished by delving deeper into sources like ship passenger lists, border crossing records and city directories.

[10]The Fodoro extended family fits into the ethnic mosaic of American Rom Gypsies as being a lineage within the *Russ* described by Gropper (1975:15; see also the *Rusuia* discussed in Salo and Salo [1977:8, 51]). All personal, family and clan names have been disguised in this paper. Most of the members of Victor's nuclear family are bilingual. They speak as their first language a "Vlax" (Walachian) dialect of the the Romani language which has wide distribution among Rom in the United States and Canada. Their Romani has numerous English loan words. In public places, among non-Gypsies, they more often use English, and their English is peppered with malapropisms; for example, "Stanley" [stainless] steel and "decapitated" [decaffeinated] coffee.

[11]An economic niche for service nomads is created wherever and whenever there are gaps between supply and demand in regional market economies. Rom service nomads, in recognition of their centuries of successful gap-filling in competitive markets worldwide have certainly earned the right to be called "interim masters of imperfect markets" (Nemeth 1986). Irving Brown describes some urban winter quarters for immigrant Rom Gypsy metal-workers in *Gypsy Fires in America* (1924), and J. R. Moriarty (1929) describes their rural camp life. The niche for Rom semi-itinerant kitchen repair services had considerably diminished by the early 1980's, when Victor began to lament that he was one of the last of the semi-itinerant Rom tinplaters.

[12]In this paper, the terms "clan" and "tribe" are used in their common rather than technical senses.

[13]There was a body of family lore involving gold, jewelry and pawnshops that emerged in conversations during almost every Rom gathering. Inevitably someone would begin to brag about a new item they had recently purchased at a pawnshop. This created the opportunity for someone else to pull out a personal jeweler's magnifying glass to inspect the piece. Conversations revealed that jewelry lost in pawn by Gypsies may have been cursed, and a hidden agenda in these frequent jewelry inspections was not to determine the item's dollar value, but to determine that a new ring, for example, was not cursed in order to relieve the anxiety of its new owner. Victor's favorite ring was a massive zodiac character carved from gold, and studded with diamonds. It was stolen from him while he was unconscious in a hospital bed (and is now cursed).

[14]Victor didn't want women walking above his head, it seems (see Miller, 1968, on some Rom concepts of pollution). By contrast, some non-Rom, non-Fodoro, Gypsies who also lived in the Fodoro settlement region rented apartments exclusively.

[15]His comments emerged during indirect questioning upon a visit to the Nazi headquarters.

[16]Victor withdrew from Fodoro family affairs for approximately five years of his "self-exile" from Los Angeles. He lived near the author for the first two years, and one of his daughters moved near him during the last three.

[17]Janet Tompkins (1990) has discussed relations between Rom and welfare agencies in a northern California city.

[18]Ellen B.L. Sato (1988) discusses some of the social impacts of the rise of Pentecostal Evangelicalism among American Rom.

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Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society 5, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1991

Hedging the Bets:
Risk Reduction Among the *Rom* Gypsies

Rena C. Gropper

The Roma *have existed in the midst of hostile strangers for over half a millenium. This paper explores the process of risk reduction in what they view as a highly uncertain universe through their decision-making techniques: painstaking gathering and sifting of pertinent information, generating and critiquing possible alternative changes in behavior, and experimenting and modifying innovations as ongoing evaluation is conducted. The result is a conscious attempt to remain flexible in the selection of behaviors without either promoting their own extinction or deleteriously affecting their culture. Another result is an extreme sensitivity to and need for the presence of non-Gypsies in their socioeconomic milieu.*

To a *Rom* Gypsy, life is full of uncertainties and dangers. Of course, such a statement does not apply uniquely to the *Roma*. Life is uncertain because the universe is uncertain, but the sociocultural matrix in which humans exist supplies a filter through which reality is screened and interpreted. In some cultures, then, people do not experience uncertainty because their culture blinds them to it. In other cultures, the source of uncertainties is thought to be within the members of the society (for example, the various preoccupations with witchcraft in some African and Native American groups, so volumi-

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nously reported on in the literature). To the Gypsies, however, the source of uncertainty is displaced onto the surrounding non-Gypsy societies,[1] characterized as perpetually hostile, but with the acknowledgement that the extent, magnitude, and direction of the hostility fluctuates within broad limits. Always at least latent, anti-Gypsy sentiments and behavior may flare up into actual violence unpredictably.

The displacement of hostile feelings, one can argue, is almost inevitable, given the numerous historical instances (including the Holocaust in Nazi Germany) of hasty relocations, legally sanctioned torture and killing, sedentarization, and forcible removal of children. The Roma accept the reality of this hostility; they also remind one another of its existence and inculcate expectations of hostile behavior and attitudes in their children by frequent recounting of past episodes of mistreatment by outsiders. These expectations in turn become a self-fulfilling hypothesis insofar as preconceptions color one's perceptions and interpretations of situations. I do not pretend to know if Gypsies always have considered outsiders as inimical; I do suspect, however, that Gypsies have always kept an eye on outsiders and regarded them as inconsistent.

For the Roma, and perhaps for other groups as well, successful survival means reducing life's uncertainties to tolerable limits.[2] This paper attempts to explore the mechanisms for such risk reduction.

Step One: Collecting Pertinent Information

An uncertain, unfriendly environment is a challenge to be met, a problem to be solved in a series of steps and with a number of strategies. The basic, ongoing need is accurate data. Information must be garnered frequently even if the group stays in the same general areas; if it changes its locale of operations, information is even more crucial and thus the risks taken for its collection are acceptably higher.

Information may be obtained firsthand, or it may be purchased from someone already possessing it. Firsthand collection requires advance scouts.[3] Scouting is done more quickly and surreptitiously if only one person is used, but the attendant risks are much higher both for the individual scout and for assuring transmittal of the data back to the group. If groups serve as scouting parties, there is more visibility (and that in itself may be dangerous), but there is also the psychological comfort of traveling with kinsmen and friends -- a protective microenvironment is carried along. With group scouting, more infor-

mation can be collected, and transmittal to the group is virtually automatic. More experience and advice can be pooled, and perhaps the resultant decisions will be wiser.

Data may also be obtained by purchase; this takes several forms. Gypsies may use paid informants from among the outsiders. Gifts, bribery, cultivation of friendships with influential people all work effectively. Visiting Gypsies from other locales are used, too: visitors are entitled to hospitality and entertainment; the hosts are repaid in part by the tacit acknowledgement that they will be guests some day and entitled to similar hospitality. However, partial repayment is immediate (although not culturally recognized as such) through the custom of trading news items. Passing along items of mutual interest is standard procedure for all groups, and this sharing of information includes such broad categories as news about Gypsies, specific anecdotes involving the narrator and told for humorous or dramatic effect, and descriptions of the surrounding environments through which they have traveled (answering the general question, "What was it like in that place?") (Cotten 1954).

Some members of the group become data specialists. The Big Men (heads of extended families) act as clearinghouses for information relevant to group survival: the local political situation, how to handle police and judges, etc. Women have information on how to tell fortunes. Families with multiple health problems who have successfully manuevered their way through the non-Gypsy health care system are repositories of helpful hints on this topic (Salloway 1973:113-26).

Communication chains and message drops operate through *gaje* inventions: telephones,[4] telegrams, cables, post office boxes ("c/o General Delivery"), motels, sympathetically inclined (and sedentary) *gaje*. As the communication systems of the gaje alter, so do the Rom methods. They try out new gadgets and often adopt and adapt them for their own purposes. I would not be surprised to learn that some groups have taken over Citizen Band (CB) radios (with or without the requisite licensing).[5] Sony's Beta Max, the $2,000 machine for videotaping, has been the subject of several conversations in which I participated recently.[6] Those who can read will survey newspaper articles for items of interest and pass them along. Radio was adopted early, and television is considered a marked improvement since it allows for almost firsthand observation.

The Gypsies I have known are selective in the expenditure of attention to various news items, but their interests are quite broad.[7] Political events are granted universal attention, for the Gypsies recog-

nize that the political climate and the inclinations of particular current officeholders in any area have reverberations extending directly to the Gypsies. Many acknowledge a relationship between political policies and the economic system, too. Business and finance interest the Roma as well; some are stock investors and have an immediate concern with Wall Street, but there are two addditional reasons for their interest in economic matters. The Gypsies know that periods of affluence for the surrounding outsiders are comfortable times for the Roma insofar as more money is directly available for use as fortunetelling fees, that these are times when earning a living is facilitated. They also recognize that the comparative lack of economic hardship for the gaje somehow reduces the general hostility level toward the Gypsies and other minority groups. Finally, interest in business and finance may stem from the Gypsy preoccupation with potential new business opportunities for the Roma. They file such data away in their memories even if they see no immediate applicability. They also exhibit interest in well-known personalities and in athletic events, but these primarily satisfy the desire for entertainment. The Gypsies like to hear and pass along gossip,[8] and titillating stories about gaje harm no Gypsies and serve to reinforce Gypsy prejudices about non-Gypsies. Physical prowess is an admired characteristic among the Roma, and the excitement of the sport is augmented by the possibility of gambling on its outcome. Gambling, however, is not viewed as a potential occupation even though one may derive a temporary profit from it.

In addition to the mass media, the Gypsies have two other avenues for data collection. Information is pumped from fortunetelling contacts and any other casual interactions with gaje. A more permanent but comparatively rare source of information comes through intermarriage. In theory, marital alliances are confined to the Roma (as is any sexual congress). In actuality, a small amount of intermarriage does occur, and, I suspect, shows a positive correlation with environmental uncertainty. In the United States, the percentage of intermarriage is low (but currently increasing as economic hardship continues), and only Rom-gaji (Gypsy man/non-Gypsy woman) unions are accepted whereas šei-gajo (Gypsy girl/non-Gypsy man) alliances are condemned vigorously. (Salo and Salo report acceptance of šei-gajo unions for the Kalderaš of eastern Canada [1977:50]. Some permitted intermarriage of women with non-Gypsy men is reported by Tillhagen [1953:17-18] for the Swedish Gypsies.)

The whole issue of intermarriage raises some interesting problems in terms of social structure. By definition, one is a Rom if one

acknowledges the authority of and participates in the *kris*, the institution of sacred/secular law. Since the kris hearings are conducted *romanes* (in the Gypsy language), it follows that an individual must be fluent in the language in order to be Rom, but speaking the language is not a sufficient, only a necessary condition to qualify for Rom status. Acceptance of a gaji is made understandable if we remember that males are the major actors in a kris and that females have been trained to expect behavior modification and even attitudinal change when they marry. Thus, an alien woman can be both acculturated and enculturated (i.e., she can learn to embrace Gypsy culture and to fulfill properly the role requirements of wife/daughter-in-law/mother) merely by following the usual man's family/daughter-in-law usages. On the other hand, kris law implies that the sanctity of the Roma ("the purity of the blood," as they put it) is carried by the women. The excommunication of the female who marries outside of Rom circles is readily understandable on the dual bases of forbidden sexual union with a gajo and entrance into an illegal marriage (from the Rom viewpoint). But why are alien women and their progeny acceptable? The rule that children belong to the man is a possible way out of the puzzle except that we still must cope with the use of bridewealth (i.e., the transfer of money from the groom's family to the bride's family) as a legitimation of offspring. Are such children then regarded as illegitimate? No, they are not, although the Rom themselves exhibit some ambivalence toward the situation. For instance, Rom who are discussing the *Meksicaia* frequently follow up a negative evaluation of their ways with the utterance, "But what can you expect? Their grandmother was a gaji." I think it is quite probable that these alien women are incorporated from time to time as a means of obtaining more intimate knowledge of outsider ways and as a possible safety hatch in times of increasing anti-Gypsy feeling. I also suspect that the less frequent incorporation of a gajo correlates with still more uncertain environments.

Step Two: Interpreting the Information

Data collection is followed by analysis and interpretation. Sources of information are judged in terms of reliability, consistency, and bias. Data from non-Gypsies must be reinterpreted to make them fit for Gypsy consumption. Data from Gypsies of other groups must be interpreted contextually; hidden agendas may be involved. Reports of lack of economic opportunity elsewhere, for instance, may simply be attempts to discourage more Gypsies from entering the area. Scraps

of information are pieced together painstakingly, and the tentative picture that emerges is subjected to whatever testing is feasible. Continuous monitoring and correction are the rule.

In all of this, Gypsy children are observers, if not active participants, as they are in most adult affairs. Thus, they are free to listen to the collection of data and the sifting of evidence that occur. By the time a child is eight or nine, careful evaluation of statements is becoming a habit. A few years thereafter, active coaching commences within the confines of the immediate family. For example, several years ago, one of the young unmarried woman died in an automobile accident. Her car ran into a tree. In discussing the incident, a 14-year-old girl expressed great sympathy for the dead šei's parents. Her mother gently disagreed, saying, "It was their fault she died. I feel sorry for the *girl.*" Her daughter expressed surprise and requested an explanation. "Think!" commanded the mother. "She was 24, and her parents still wouldn't marry her. She had two-three car accidents before this."

"But, if she wanted to kill herself, why a car?" asked the daughter.

"She was a *good* girl, just unhappy. She had respect for her parents, so she wanted it to look like an accident. So people wouldn't talk, you see." Then the older woman began reviewing the known history of automobile accidents among the young Gypsies, showing the probable suicides.

Direct coaching in data analysis is supplemented by indirect training. Adults will deliberately make a promise and not follow through on it, or they will misrepresent a situation to a child. The youngster is expected to challenge the misrepresentation by appropriate questioning and marshalling of counterevidence. After a number of such experiences, the lesson is learned: thou shalt not trust anyone; people do not always do what they say, nor do they always say what is true.

A case of murder demonstrates the process under discussion and the complex interaction of knowledge of Gypsy and gajo ways. Three young married couples spent the evening together and then returned to the apartment of one couple to continue their drinking. One of the visitors went to the bathroom, and the owner of the apartment followed. After a while, the owner summoned the third man to the rear, too. The latter two returned a short while afterward, but the third man did not. Several hours later, the missing man's wife expressed concern that perhaps her husband was sick and said she would go to the rear to see what was happening. The two men told her that her husband had

left by the back door for Atlantic City. After some light challenging, the wife pretended to accept the story and left with her children. She called her father from the outside, and he in turn telephoned the police. Eventually the man's body was found about 12 blocks away. He had been shot. The victim's father filed charges, but the suspect was released on bail, much to the disgust of the Roma. (The case finally went to court, and a comparatively light sentence was handed down.) The murder was much discussed by Roma throughout the United States. Most of the uninvolved Gypsies reached the conclusion that the Gypsy from whose apartment the victim disappeared had shot the fellow in a drunken rage. The suspect and his group have a reputation for violence, association with non-Gypsy criminal elements, and use of firearms. Since the Gypsies are aware that the accused's father has "pull" with the local police district ("that's their territory"), the inability of the police to find evidence was discounted. The supporting story by the witness was given short shrift as well because he is considered rather pusillanimous and because he owes the accused a number of favors. But the final piece of evidence, all agree, is the fact that the suspect's father showed up at six o'clock in the morning in question with the weak story (the Gypsy verdict, not the author's) that he just happened to be passing by. The Roma were so convinced that the gajo (non-Gypsy) legal code would not work ("Why should the gaje care about a dead Gypsy boy?") that they began to talk about initiating a kris even before the suspect was arraigned.[9] They did not follow through on the plan; instead, they have allowed the victim's father to strike back by utilizing the gajo world, making trouble for the suspect's father with the Department of Welfare and through truancy regulations.

Step Three: Deciding What is Important

The next step for survival (and, wherever possible, for improvement) is choice-taking (Gropper 1975: 190-203). Plans are formulated on the basis of priority setting. Where sheer physical survival is in question, this obviously is assigned the highest priority. Economic adversity must be balanced against the current political situation. Personal and familial considerations also must be weighed. Let me give you a detailed example. (I shall discuss coping with the weather, simply because the subject has not been explored in the literature to my knowledge.)

Climatic conditions are of higher or lower priority, depending, first, upon the health status requirements and, next, on the economic situation of the individuals involved. Another factor, much more rarely of significance, is whether the person considering the relocation is the last surviving (and chronologically old) member of a family, all of whom are buried locally. Such persons do not wish to die far away, lest they risk burial apart from their spouses, parents, and/or children.

Some disease states carry a higher death risk if an individual lives in extreme cold. Where the sick person is comparatively young and/or stands a good chance of surviving if moved to a different locale, the usual decision is to relocate temporarily or permanently. Gypsies prefer warm weather conditions where they can enjoy the outdoors, and they have an aversion to very cold, blustery weather that confines them within buildings. Because of this preference, population densities of Roma build up in the warmer parts of the United States during the winter months, leading to intense economic competition. Various options must be considered if a family or group wishes to subsist in such areas: (1) if there are sufficient financial reserves, the family can live off its capital during the winter, relying upon economic activities elsewhere during the rest of the year to carry them along; (2) families and/or groups may experiment with economic diversification to reduce direct competition (many of the *Mačvaia* groups in California own extensive holdings in real estate, for instance, and rarely need recourse to fortunetelling); (3) families or groups may split up, leaving some members in the home territory to carry on economically for the benefit of all; (4) least possible and least desirable is the option of becoming dependents of relatives already situated in the warm area.

Consideration of various alternative options and strategies is analytically separable from priority-setting, but in actuality strategy weighing cannot proceed without continuous reconsideration of priorities on the one hand and on the basis of the need to determine relative feasibility and total socioeconomic costs on the other.

Step Four: Choosing a Path

Strategy selection operates on the basis of general rules of preference. (1) The overriding principle is that physical survival outweighs all other considers, as I have said.[10] The survival principle leads to another consideration: (2) Cultural preservation is granted high priority, and it takes the form of a guiding question, does the proposed strategy conflict with important Gypsy values?[11] So a household would

not be located in an area where local conditions preclude extended trips to visit kin elsewhere even though such a location would eliminate the problem of economic competition. And, within the value system, precedence is given to the value considered more important when there is a conflict between two different values. For example, a woman developed an unexplained fever after childbirth. Her attending physician (the head of the Obstetrics-Gynecology Service) being away, the chief resident telephoned her husband to report the problem (proper procedure) and also called in an obstetrical consultant since the department had initiated a prenatal project for the Roma. Although the chief resident was simply being cautious to prevent his chief's probable anger, the family interpreted the young doctor's actions as indicative of a serious, possibly life-threatening situation. The husband's father telephoned San Juan, Puerto Rico, to report the ilness to the woman's parents, who flew up to be at her bedside. The husband and his male cousin also visited her daily. In this case, the taboo on close male contact with a postpartum woman took a back seat to the value placed on marshalling support for serious illness and being available for saying farewell in the eventuality of a terminal ailment. (3) Another important principle is that as many options as possible should be kept open. Economic diversification within the family is preferred to a strategy of complete substitution of a new economic pursuit. The protection-of-options principle underlies attempts to remain as flexible as possible, leading to several rules for judging options. (4) The Gypsies prefer strategies that are reversible; they do not like to commit themselves to irrevocable decisions. For example, no family would convert all of its economic resources into capital for a new economic enterprise, preferring to retain some as a fallback reserve. (5) Strategies that can be tried out experimentally on a small scale and by a few people are preferred over those that entail an immediate major commitment. In other words, any experimentation with a new way of earning a living should be limited to a small segment of the extended family and should risk relatively small amounts of money. (6) Of equal importance to (5) are those strategies that can be implemented gradually and in reversible stages. That is, small changes that are potentially cumulative and can be withdrawn if they fail to show results are desirable. For instance, one year in New York City a hotly contested mayoral election campaign led to a change from handbill advertising of fortunetelling stores to the distribution of paper shopping-bag advertisements in the Bronx in imitation of the advertising technique being used by political candidates. The innovation increased the costs

of advertising by about 150%. Inasmuch as those who adopted the technique did not find a proportionate increase in number of customers, it was quickly (and easily) dropped in favor of a return to handbills. The logical consequence of these preferences is (7) the desire for strategies that can be evaluated and adjusted as they are being implemented. The final set of considerations in judging strategies involves economic pragmatism. They center around projections of resource expenditures: (8) how many people and how much time will be needed? (The less, the better.) (9) Are there many new skills that must be learned, and (10) how difficult is it to achieve adequate mastery? (The fewer, the better; the simpler, the better.) And, although the Gypsies themselves do not use the term, they assess the opportunity costs of the strategy; that is, they ask, (11) what will we be losing by not doing B or C because we have chosen to do X instead?[12]

Ultimate strategy selection does not necessarily require either a unanimous decision or uniform implementation. Either or both reduce available options and, therefore, negate the cardinal principle of flexibility. The preference for multiple strategy selection is supported by the capacity of the social structure to expand or contract via the miniaturization feature (Gropper 1975: 183-86) and by the ease with which the Roma can change their sociopolitical affiliations (*op. cit.*:66-70). In other words, decentralization is the keynote, and a review of decision-making theory (Rothman 1974:29) indicates a positive correlation between conditions of high uncertainty and decentralized organizational structure even among the gaje. Parenthetically, I should point out that such extreme flexibility inevitably increases variability in cultural behavior at different points in time (to say "from year to year" probably is not too great an exaggeration) and for different groups (again, "from one household to another" perhaps does not distort the situation unduly). This contradicts the conventional wisdom of those researchers who expect behavioral similarity (the so-called "homogeneity" of small-scale societies and/or technologically less complicated cultures).

Step Five: Putting the Decisions into Practice

Once a course of action is selected, steps are taken to carry it out. Continuous monitoring is the rule during implementation, too, and risks are kept to a minimum by ongoing corrective modifications. These require a steady supply of data inputs to answer two evaluative questions: (1) If the plan is working satisfactorily, can it be improved? (2) If the plan is not working well, can it be patched up? The informa-

tion needed to answer the questions necessitates observation of the surrounding non-Gypsy matrix. Why are customers not flocking to take advantage of the new economic undertaking? Why are the judges and district attorneys suddenly more hostile and less amenable to compromise? Does the groceryman really have trouble getting supplies, or is anti-Gypsy sentiment increasing?

Discussion

At this point, we should back off from the ethnographic details and attempt some ethnological generalizations. The choice-taking process I have described is amazingly like the recommended procedures for development work (Gropper Ms. and Partridge [1984]; for a detailed example from the health fields, consult Bainbridge and Sapirie 1974). The Roma are aware that they must respond to an ecological surround with special emphasis on Gypsy/non-Gypsy relations. Other groups also monitor their relationships with outsiders; we have a relatively heavy accumulation of literature on the topic and even some theory generation (Barth *et al.* [1969] probably should be credited with supplying the early momentum). Such an approach emphasizes a conscious differentiation of one group from all others in the surrounding environment. But the Gypsy situation differs in that most of their groups do not and cannot earn a living within the confines of their own ranks. This obligatory economic interdependence probably is what motivated the late Alfred Louis Kroeber to refer to the Gypsy culture(s) as a "partial culture" (Kroeber 1948:274-80). I am aware of some other cultures where economic activities include articulation with outsiders; however, such units as the Indian *jatis* (sub-castes of the Hindu villages) can and do subsist by agriculture as well as by their traditional caste occupations. Similarly, Mandelbaum's (1955) description of the interdependence of the Kota, Toda, Badaga, and Kurumba groups of the Nilgiri Hills points to ritual obligations to be fulfilled periodically and to some economic interdependence, but, by inference, the four tribes can function independently the rest of the time. Pastoral nomads of the Middle East may need agriculturalists for cereal products and/or dates today, but my work with Tibetans shows nothing more than optional interdependence with their agricultural groups. The Tibetan pastoralists could subsist exclusively on their own products, and I think it probable that the Middle Eastern pastoralists had the same capacity at least in earlier times, even though food

preservation would have been a greater problem than it is on the Tibetan high plateau.

My argument, then, is that, to my knowledge, only the Gypsies need non-Gypsies to exist. Perhaps this need makes them more sensitive to the non-Gypsy milieu. Maintaining a deliberate cultural separation may indeed be a mechanism for sociocultural continuation, but boundary maintenence ordinarily is not a full-time job. The Gypsies, on the other hand, expend much energy on the surrounding non-Gypsy environment. I have clocked many hours of conversation among the women in which the major topic was the set of non-Gypsy customers. The techniques of data collection described are also time-consuming. Surely, the tribes in the Amazon and in parts of New Guinea that were in more or less perpetual warfare and perforce alert to possible ambush had to monitor the external situation, too. (One is reminded of the watch towers to which the Dani men repair daily in the film, "Dead Birds.") Did such groups utilize a different set of techniques? We know that some intertribal interactions occurred (ritual feasts, marriage celebrations, etc.) during which it might have been possible to gather information. However, essential Gypsy data collection conveniences such as telephones, radio, newspapers, and television are available only through utilization of non-Gypsy culture. Thus, again, I am forced to the thesis that non-Gypsies are part and parcel of the Gypsy sociocultural system. Kroeber inferred as much years ago when he asserted that, should non-Gypsies suddenly disappear, the Gypsies would change beyond recognition within several generations (Kroeber 1948:280).

Conclusions

The Rom Gypsies have exhibited half a millenium of successful adaptation to an environment in which hostile outsiders are an integral part. Their coping mechanisms are predicated upon careful data collection, intentional planning, and self-correcting implementation with decentralization as a crucial feature of their social fabric. All of these techniques act to keep risks to an acceptable minimum and to allow for the indefinite perpetuation of the Gypsy culture as long as the surrounding matrix includes non-Gypsy groups as well.

Notes

Acknowledgments. This paper is an expanded version of the original exposition read at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association in 1977 at a symposium, "New Directions in Gypsy Studies: A Tribute to Walter Starkie." It also incorporates material from a paper read at the 1976 American Anthropological Association meeting in a symposium, "Adaptive Strategies or Marginal Survival?: Perspectives on Gypsies and Similar Groups in Complex Societies," under the title, "Alive and Well, and Gypsy, Too." I wish to thank two anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments and suggestions. Any errors, of course, should be attributed to me.

The research on which this article is predicated has been conducted since 1947 in various parts of the United States, but concentrating on New York City. *Roma* is the plural form of the group's name for itself in the dialect of the Mačvaia; *Rom* is the plural usually heard in the dialect of the Kalderaš.

[1] This statement is not intended to deny the existence of witchcraft accusations and acknowledgement of evil eye in some Rom groups (see, for example, Cotten 1950:141-43, Salo and Salo 1977:112, and the fictionalized account in Maximoff 1946:3-35). However, sorcery and evil eye are given much less weight than the dangers stemming from the gaje.

[2] The uncertainty of the universe and the inevitability of risk reduction as a survival strategy for all living organisms is argued by Slobodkin and Rapoport (1974).

[3]Advance scouts have been hypothesized in the first migration of Gypsies into western Europe by E. O. Winstedt (cited in Block 1939:55).

[4]The Roma also like to tinker with these inventions. In the 1950s, they tended to install pay telephones in their *ofisas* and apartments because they had discovered a way to use the telephone for local and long-distance calls without having to drop coins into the box. The dire predictions voiced by the Old Ones upon discovering this sample of youthful enterprise came to fruition, alas! Regular private telephones are now in use.

[5]After the oral presentation, someone confirmed CB radio ownership for his area. Citizen Band radio was a current fad in the United States. It is a two-way, wireless broadcasting system.

[6]Tape recorders have been known and used for more than a decade; however, tapes and cassettes are only utilized for music (both

Gypsy and non-Gypsy); apparently it has not occurred to anyone to tape and mail a "letter." (Diane Tong [personal communication, 1989] has suggested that lack of possible give-and-take conversation is involved.) Amateur motion-picture and video cameras are known but rarely owned and used; when footage is shot, the subject matter ordinarily is the set of Gypsy festivities, especially the weddings.

[7]Compare this section with Zatta 1990:58-64.

[8]Gossip about fellow Gypsies is a favorite pastime, occupying many of the hours spent on telephones, local or long-distance, but it is conceded that gossiping is at least mildly destructive and that virtuous people should not indulge in it.

[9]Interestingly, the father, not the suspect, was the subject of discussion.

[10]I am not certain Jan Yoors (1971) would have agreed with this statement in view of his experiences during the Second World War.

[11]This statement is not intended to deny the possibility of change. It merely asserts that a current estimate utilizes *present* Gypsy values.

[12]These principles, although generated from the Gypsy data, bear a strong resemblance to the characteristics facilitating adoption of an innovation in culture change projects (Rogers and Shoemaker 1971; Gropper Ms.).

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The *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* (ISSN 0017-6087) is published twice a year (February and August) by the Gypsy Lore Society (founded 1888), Inc., 5607 Greenleaf Road, Cheverly, MD, 20785. Printed in the USA.

The *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* is abstracted and indexed in Historical Abstracts and America: History and Life.

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Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society 5, *Vol. 1, No. 2 (1991)*

Some Sample Texts in Greek Romany

Gordon M. Messing

The four Greek Romany texts included here were translated from Greek originals into Romany by two literate bilingual Gypsies living in the Athens suburb of Agia Varvara. An English translation has been supplied together with some commentary particularly aimed at glossing Greek and Turkish words which are frequent in this dialect. The first three texts, written in the Greek alphabet, are all the work of the same translator, while the longer fourth text, written in an English alphabet, comes from the second translator. Romany does not yet function as a written language in Greece, and occasionally the translators have had difficulty hitting upon a proper phonetic transcription.

The Gypsies of Greece until the end of World War II were almost all illiterate. Thereafter, the children, at least those of settled communities, began in many localities to attend Greek elementary schools. By now, although many Gypsy children drop out after a few years, many end up literate in Greek and a very few are tempted to pursue secondary school or even university instruction. The next logical step, one that has been taken in a number of other countries, would be for the more educated Gypsies to start writing in Romany and establishing outlets for such writing. This has not yet happened in Greece, whether because educated Gypsies are still relatively few in number or because there is no precedent for such a move and it still seems too radical; the Greek state has always tended to look with

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suspicion upon all cultural activities carried out by its minority peoples.

The four texts which form the substance of the present article are translations into Romany made by two educated Gypsies, bilingual in Greek and Romany. The translations are based upon Greek originals selected by myself. Let me express my gratitude here to Kathryn Kozaitis, who is now completing a University of Michigan doctoral dissertation dealing with the Gypsy community living in the Athens suburb of Agia Varvara. Thanks to her, these Greek texts were submitted to two of her informants and turned into Romany by them. These are not word-for-word versions, but they are fairly close to the original Greek, and the two translators clearly chose their words with care.

All the persons mentioned in these texts are Greeks, not Gypsies. The translators are certainly aware of this and occasionally mark the distinction, e.g. the firemen in Text 3.14 are called *gadžé* 'non-Gypsies', and the murdered wife is called *džuvlí* 'non-Gypsy' in Text 4.15. But elsewhere throughout Text 4 'husband' and 'wife' are rendered by *rom* and *romní* which, strictly speaking, should be used only of a Gypsy husband and wife.

There is of course a sacrifice of spontaneity in working with translations rather than oral compositions, but nevertheless I hope that the material in these texts will throw considerable light on Greek Romany structure and usage.

I have furnished each Romany text with an English translation and a number of comments explaining particular items of vocabulary or grammatical points. I have tried to avoid duplicating the material in my glossary of this dialect (Messing 1988); since I shall be making frequent references to this publication, I shall cite it from now on simply as *Glossary*. In accordance with the general practice of speakers of this dialect, the translators were often tempted to retain Greek words from the Greek original or to fit Greek words into a Romany pattern; sometimes, on the other hand, they preferred to adapt Turkish words into a Romany shape or in the case of verbs, imitate actual Turkish verbal forms. Substitutions of this sort may seem complicated to the outsider, but in fact they are entirely routine since the speakers in their normal speech cannot draw upon native Romany words to fill all these gaps.[1]

The first three texts are written in the Greek alphabet, the fourth in a rough-and-ready English alphabet, and I am presenting all four

here in a mainly phonemic transcription of my own. Without diacritical marks, the Greek alphabet cannot accommodate all the Romany phonemes. For example, there is no way to handle /tš/, /dž/ or aspirated /p(h)/. There is the further complication that not all speakers in Agia Varvara have the same pronunciation. Many speakers, especially younger speakers, substitute /s/ for /š/. Since these are not oral texts, I have decided to render most elements in accordance with the spelling of entries in the *Glossary*, though well aware that these two speakers may use slightly different pronunciations.[2] Diversity of this sort is of course an old story to students of Romany.

Text No. 1

(In this and subsequent texts I have numbered the lines for convenient reference.) This was a story taken from a Greek newspaper; Tsitsifyes and Kallithea are Athenian suburbs.

1. I kirá María X pokindás arakí o drom
   Mrs. Maria X paid yesterday (for) the trip
2. Athína-Tsitsifsyés me trin-te-paš tšon panglipé.
   Athens-(to)-Tsitsifyes with three and a half month(s) (of) prison.
3. And'o leoforío kay e Tsitsifyés arakindólas
   In the bus to Tsitsifyes was-found (i.e. was)
4. i María kána inklistás ya élenxo o Stéfanos K.
   Maria when (there) got out for inspection Stefanos K.
5. Manglás látar láko isitírio ta voy tóte
   He asked her for her ticket and she then
6. akyardás óti xasardás-les. O elenktís pendás
   answered that she (had) lost it. The inspector said
7. te inkalél avér ta voy in manglás. O Stéfanos
   for her to take another, and she didn't want to. (The) Stefanos
8. manglás katár o tšuraló kay sas otodé te lel
   asked of the policeman who was there to take (down)
9. láke stixía. Sovná xalé-pes ta i kirá María
   her (identity) data. Then they argued, both Mrs. Maria
10. e tšuralésa, ta e kaštésa gelé
    (with =) and the policeman, and with (wood =) blows exchanged they went

11. ka e tšuralé ka i Kallithéa.
to the (police =) police station at (the) Kallithea.
12. Arakí kerdilí i dhíki. "Klotsisarélas-man
Yesterday was held the trial. "She was kicking me
13. ta džala(v)élas-man me tin tsánta
and was striking me with (the =) her handbag
14. sar džas ka e tšuralé," penél o tšuraló
as (we go =) we were going to the police station," says the policeman
15. kay o dhikastírio ta óti i María liás te našél.
to the court and that Maria (took =) tried to get away.
16. "Kerélas sar burinyazméni thálasa."
"She (was making =) was behaving like (a) stormy sea."
17. I María ómos pendás óti xasardás po isitírio
Maria however said that she (had) lost her ticket
18. ta óti o elenktís orbisardás lása béti
and that the inspector (had) talked to her nastily
19. ta óti in manglás láke stixía.
and that he did not ask (for) her (identity) data.
20. "Sáoru kalá penén maksús!" O dhikastís ómos
"All these (things that) they say (are) falsehood!" But the judge
21. in pakyásas láke ta tšutardás-la andré.
didn't believe her and (threw her in =) gave her a prison sentence.
22. I María pokindás ta inklistí avrí.
Maria paid (sc. the penalty) and got out.

Comments (identified by line numbers)

1. *I kirá*, the translator has replaced the usual *kiría* 'Mrs.' of the Greek text by the folksier *kirá*; definite article used throughout with first names and place names in imitation of Greek usage.

2. *tšon* 'month', singular after plural numeral, as often; *panglipé* 'prison', in a loose construction imitating the Greek original, i.e. the Greek preposition *me* 'with' governs both *tšon* and *panglipé*, '3 1/2 month (of) prison'.

3. *o leoforío* 'bus', Greek neuter noun, like *isitírio* 'ticket' (5) and *dhikastírio* 'court' (15), all change to masculine since Romany has no neuter gender.

4. *ya élenxo* 'for inspection', Greek phrase retained from original text; *inklistás* 'got out', from *inkláv*, but this must be a slip since the inspector did not get off but got on the bus and cf. the consistent meaning of this verb at (22) below, also Text No. 2, (15); Text No. 3, (2, 7); Text No. 4 (77, 80, 85).

5. *tóte* 'then', Greek adverb.

6. *óti* 'that', Greek conjunction, used many times in these texts; *elenktís* 'inspector', like *dhikastís* 'judge', Greek nouns taken over unchanged.

8. *otodé* 'right there', not in *Glossary*, cf. *koté*, *oté* 'there'.

9. *stixía* 'identity data', Greek noun, neuter plural in Greek.

10. *e kaštésa* lit. 'with wood', used to mean 'beating' in imitation of Greek *ksílo* 'wood' which is so used.

12. *dhíki* 'trial', Greek noun; *klotsisarélas* 'was kicking', imperfect, the Romany present stem formed as often by adding *-arav* to a Greek aorist stem.

13. *me tin tsánta* 'with (the =) her handbag', Greek phrase from original.

16. *burinyazméni thálasa* 'stormy sea', Greek phrase from original text.

20. *sáoru* 'all', emphatic plural; *kalá* 'these (things)', normally feminine plural, but perhaps the translator was influenced by the ending of *aftá* in the Greek original (neuter plural).

21. *pakyásas* 'believed', preterite from *pakyáv*, this form not in *Glossary*; *tšutardás* 'threw', preterite from *tšuváv*, variant of *tšutém*, the preterite listed in *Glossary* and used in Text No. 4, (84).

22. The translator misunderstood the Greek text; Maria was only released pending appeal.

Text No. 2

This is a literary text from Pavlos Nirvanas taken from Ftyaras (1964:54).

1. Kána mo dat xasardás sa pi periusía
   When my father lost all his fortune
2. katár o yek saáto ka o ko(v)á, sar xasaón
   from one hour to the next, as are lost

3. kadikí šeyá ka i dunyáa, amaré ktímata
so many things in the world, our possessions
4. pa(r)tšáe pokindinále yek yek ka i dhimoprasía.
in individual parts were sold one by one at auction.
5. Teleftéa avilí i sirá amaré keréske.
Finally came the turn for our house.
6. Yek kiriakí sabahlén prin te džas ka i kangíri
One Sunday morning before we (go =) went to (the) church
7. O ker sas amaró. Kána avilám, ašundám óti
the house was ours. When we came back, we heard that
8. bešás avreté, ta óti se embúka gyesá
we (are =) were living elsewhere, and that in a few days
9. éprepe te ksespitosáas katár amaró ker
it was necessary (for us) to move from our house
10. kay latšardásas mo dat yek yek bar.
which my father had (improved =) constructed stone by stone.
11. Yek gyes karustumús amaré paté.
One day we packed up (?) our clothes.
12. Mo dat katár o nasulipé kay kerdás-les
My father because of the illness which (made =) compelled him
13. but breš te bešél pa yek polithróna, sas
for many years to sit in an armchair, was
14. but barustún manús, ta molonóti
(a) very brave man, and although
15. sas te inklél avrí deš breš katár po ker, inklélas akána
it was ten years (that he go out) since he had gone out of his house, he went out now
16. ta na ka ksaná gelás andré, in šudriló hitš.
and would not go in it again, he did not shrink at all.
17. Sererúm sadé, kána astardám-les katár e vastá
I remember only, when we grasped him by the arms
18. ya te t(h)as-les ka i arabáa, in risardás hitš
in order to place him in the vehicle, he didn't at all turn
19. pe yaká te dikél o ker. Me, mamuyál
his eyes to see the house. I, opposite
20. léstar, dikávas amarí avlín kay xasaólas
him, looked at our yard which was slipping away
21. pála mánde; e lulugyá kay sas andré orbisarénas
behind me; the flowers which were in (it) were speaking

22. mánsa yeké tšibása kay sadé me akyarávas.
with me in a language which only I understood.

Comments

1. *periusía* 'fortune', feminine Greek noun treated as Romany fem. sing.

2. *saáto* 'hour' listed in *Glossary* s.v. *sa(h)áto(s)*, Turkish *saat*; *xasávav*, not in *Glossary*, functions as a passive for *xasaráv* 'lose', cf. *xasaólas* 'was being lost' (20).

3. *ktímata* 'possessions', Greek noun, neuter plural.

4. *pa(r)tšáe* 'in parts', one would expect *partšá(v)es* as plural of *partšáva*; *dhimoprasía* 'auction', feminine Greek noun, gender retained.

5. *teleftéa* 'finally', Greek adverb; *sirá* 'turn', feminine Greek noun, gender retained.

6. Although *kurkó*, an older Greek loanword, is sometimes used, Greek *kiriakí* is equally common, and all the other days of the week are called by their Greek names; *prin* 'before', Greek conjunction.

9. *éprepe* 'it was necessary', Greek impersonal verb in imperfect tense; *te ksespitosáas* 'that we move', Romany verb formed on Greek aorist stem.

10. *latšardásas* 'had built', pluperfect tense (*Glossary*: 25), rare in this dialect but here copying a Greek pluperfect in the original text.

11. *karustumús* 'we packed up', meaning assured by Greek original and context, Turkish-type preterite, cf. *Glossary* s.v. *karisírim (karusúrum)* but the meaning does not coincide.

13. *polithróna* 'armchair', Greek noun.

14. *barustún* 'brave', perhaps from Turkish *barut(u)* 'gun powder' which can be applied to a person who reacts suddenly and violently; *molonóti* 'although', Greek conjunction.

16. *ka ksaná gelás* 'would go again', imitation of a Greek conditional, i.e. *ka*, sign of future tense, plus normally, an imperfect tense (perhaps the preterite *gelás* 'went' is a slip for imperfect *džálas*); *ksaná* is a Greek verbal formant, 'again','re-', taken over from Greek original; *šudriló* lit. 'turned cold' translates a Greek *dhíliase* 'acted like a coward'.

17. *sererúm* 'I remember', Turkish-type present tense, although usual Romany conjugation (*seráv*) in *Glossary* and in Text No. 4 (56, 66).

18. *risardás* 'turned', from a transitive verb *risaráv* corresponding to the intransitive *risávav* of *Glossary*.

Text No. 3

Newspaper account of a fire; it must have seemed difficult to the translator, and the Romany is sometimes only a short paraphrase.

1. Sas deš-u-yek o saáto arakí saba(h)lén kána
   It was eleven o'clock yesterday morning when
2. atár yek dukyanó inklélas yak. Kodolá kay
   from a store flame came. Those who
3. kerénas bukí andré lié te mudarén i yak
   were doing work inside (took to =) tried to put out the fire
4. alá nášti besténdurlar, ta i yak but sigó
   but it (is not =) was not possible to extinguish it, and the fire very quickly
5. kerdilí dáa barí. I yak sigó diás and' e
   became bigger. The fire soon (gave =) spread in (the)
6. okalá da e kerá ta e dukyaé kay sas pašé.
   those (very) houses and the stores which were near.
7. Sa i dunyáa kay sas andré inklistí sigó avrí.
   Everybody who was inside quickly came out.
8. Sovná avilé deš baré arabáes e yakáke
   Then came ten big vehicles of (the fire =) of the Fire Department
9. ta tránda mrušá, kay kerdé but baré prospáthies
   and thirty (fire)men, who made very great efforts
10. ya te na ___ durál i yak. Sas deš-u-dui
    so that the fire might not (spread?) further. It was twelve
11. to mesiméri kána i yak pabardás sa o dukyanó,
    noon when the fire consumed all the store,
12. ta ka pab(y)ólas yek dhiplanó ker,
    and an adjoining house was in danger of being burned up,
13. kay bešélas yek p(h)urí ta láki tšey.
    where an old woman was living and her daughter.
14. Sa i dunyáa dikélas e gadžén kay mudarénas
    Everybody was watching the (non-Gypsies =) the firemen who were extinguishing

15. i yak. Kodalá kay sas léngo o dukyanó
the fire. Those (who it was of them the store =) whose store it was
16. rovénas ta p(h)enénas, "xalám amén,
were weeping and saying, "we have (been eaten up =) lost everything,
17. in atšilás amén kántšik, katastrepsálem."
nothing has remained to us, we have been ruined."

Comments

2. *atár* normally 'from here' (Paspati 1870:149), but in this sentence the same as *katár* 'from'; *dukyanó* 'store', Turkish *dükkán*, plural *dukyaé* (6) with loss of intervocalic *-n-*, cf. *Glossary*, section 3b (ii).

4. *besténdurlar* 'that they extinguish', meaning clear from the Greek original, incorrectly formed Turkish-type preterite third person plural, probably in lieu of *bastırdılar*.

7. *sa i dunyáa* '(all the world =) everybody', a calque on Greek *ólos o kózmos*, also at (14).

9. *prospáthies* 'efforts', Greek noun in plural.

10. A verb was accidently omitted here by the translator.

11. *to mesiméri* 'at (the) noon', Greek phrase.

12. The construction *ka pab(y)ólas* lit. 'would be consumed' seems to imitate a Greek conditional tense (cf. comment on Text No. 2, line 16, above); *dhiplanó* 'close by', Greek adjective given a Romany ending.

14. *e gadžén* 'the (non-Gypsy) men', accusative plural.

17. *katastrepsálem* 'we have been ruined', normally *katastrepsáylem*, Romany passive based as usual on Greek aorist active stem, *katastreps-* rather than the aorist passive stem *katastraf-*.

Text No. 4

Longish newspaper account of a gruesome murder plus interview with the murderer; Megara is a Greek city.

1. Nakadé éksurya brešá barabéri. Kerdé pantš
   They spent a lot of years together. They (made =) had five
2. xurdé ta but parés ya te traysarén latšés
   children and considerable money so as to live comfortably
3. e brešá kay atšilé-len. Ta akaná and'o
   the years which remained to them. And now in (the =) his
4. p(h)uripé, bi te avén-len kay próvlima, i gogí
   old age, without (that come to them =) their having any problem, the mind
5. e G. K., 65 brešéngo, mikroladhémboros, tholosáylo.
   of George K., 65 years old, retail oil merchant, clouded over.
6. Eké baré tšurása tšindás arakí to proí pe romná
   With a big knife he slaughtered yesterday morning his wife
7. Ekaterína, 55 brešéngi and'i kuzína lénge
   Catherine, 55 years old, in the kitchen of their
8. k(h)eréske kay Mégara. Vov p(h)enél kay
   house in Megara. He says that
9. léski romní džálas averésa.
   his wife (was going =) was having an affair with someone else.
10. "Akána kay sas 55 brešéngi?" putšlám-les
    "Now (that =) when she was 55 years old?" we asked him
11. kay o tmíma kay e Mégara kay araklám-les
    at the police station at (the) Megara where we (found =) met him
12. arakí to mizméri. "(H)áyir, prin deš-u-pantš brešá,"
    yesterday at noon. "No, fifteen years ago,"
13. sas léski apándisi. E arakítke béti mudarimáske
    was his answer. For yesterday's ugly murder
14. ninay kántšik sebébi, ninay káek dhikeoloyía.
    there is no reason, there is not any excuse.
15. I džuvlí sa kay laké brešá kay yašardú
    The (non-Gypsy) woman (always in her years =) during all the years that she lived

16. sas latšó manúš, latší romní, latší dey,
was (a) good person, (a) good wife, (a) good mother,
17. yaváši romní, ay sto télos mulás kendí
(a) kind wife, but finally died herself
18. katár pe roméske vastá—manúš džungaló
at the hands of her husband—a brutal person
19. kay džálas kay davérnes kay in sikáel kay
who (was going =) frequented night spots (and) who does not show that
20. pišmán oldu dži akána. O G., sar sikaél, but
he was sorry up to now. (The) George, as it appears, for many
21. brešá todásas latšés and'i gogí te mudarél
years had put firmly into his mind to murder
22. pe romná. I bukí kadayá baralí arakí
his wife. This matter (grew big =) reached a climax yesterday
23. ta sebíbi si ek kafyáva kay manglás
and (the) cause (is =) was a coffee that he wanted
24. te kerél léske léski romní. Manušá kay bešénas
his wife to make for him. People who were living
25. páša lénde ka p(h)enén dáa sovná, i sinxoreméni
near them will say later, the late lamented
26. sas but latší romní ay láko rom sas but
was (a) very good woman but her husband was very
27. džungalo—kerdásas láke ek yašipé but béti.
brutal—he had made her life very miserable.
28. Ay o G. p(h)enél kay léske romná sas dóstura.
But (the) George says that (to his wife were =) his wife had boy friends.
29. "Si maksús. Les-sas dostínkes ta piraélas-pes
"It is false. He had girl friends and would go around
30. lénsa." O kolá gyes rakyákye o G. ta léske
with them." Day before yesterday in the evening, George and his
31. p(h)ralésko tšáo dželé kay o dukyanó Kan-Kan
(brother's son =) nephew went to the (store =) night spot Can-Can
32. kay arakindináol avrál e Mégara ta bešlé
which is outside of Megara and sat
33. ta nakadé šukár dži saba(h)lén dui-te-paš saáto.
and had a good time until two thirty in the morning.

34. Sovná avilé kay o k(h)er e Yorgósko, džungadé
Then they came to the home of George, woke up
35. e Katína ta voy kerdás lénge kafyáva.
(the) Cathy and she made coffee for them.
36. Léske p(h)ralésko tšáo sovná e kafyavátar našló
His nephew after the coffee left
37. ta o G. pašliló. Džungadiló 9 o saáto arakí to proí.
and George went to sleep. He woke up at nine yesterday morning.
38. Kimbíri so kerdiló? O G. p(h)enél kalá e bukyá.
Approximately what happened? (The) George (himself) tells these matters.
39. "Kána uštilém andár o t(h)an gelém ta todém-man.
"When I got out of bed I went and washed up.
40. Mi romní p(h)endás te latšarél mánge ek kafyáva.
My wife (said =) offered to make me a coffee.
41. 'Daá latšés te des-man zeíri,' p(h)endém láke.
'Better that you give me poison,' I said to her.
42. 'Rakyáke kay ka avén e tšaé ka orbisarás,'
'Tonight when the children will be coming, we'll talk (about it),'
43. apandisardás man voy. Astardilém e orbénsa.
she answered me. (I was caught =) I was vexed by the words.
44. Diém-la ek ispaldipé ta pelás pay tsiménto.
I gave her a shove and she fell on the cement (floor).
45. Oprál pay ek varéla sas ek barí tšurí.
Over a barrel was a big knife.
46. Liém-la ta arxisardém te džalaváv-la."
I took it and started to strike her."
47. "Kay džaladán-la?" "Pay šoró, pay e vastá, pandú."
"Where did you strike her?" "On the head, on the arms, everywhere."
48. "Sostár mudardán-la?" "Sas-la dóstura."
"Why did you kill her?" "She had boy friends."
49. "Sánas síguros?" "Ipopsyasáavas látar."
"Were you certain?" "I was suspicious of her."
50. "Apó kána?" "Apó deš-u-pantš breš."
"Since when?" "For fifteen years."
51. "So sas kodová kay todás-tut te ipopsyasáos?"
"What was it which led you to be suspicious?"
52. "Kay kafenáva kay džávas orbisarénas
"At the coffee house where I was going they used to talk

53. ožonimé romnénge kay sas-len dóstura.
of married women who had boy friends.
54. Sanederímas kay p(h)enénas mindré romnáke da."
I assumed that they were talking about my wife also."
55. "Kázom brešá san ožonimé?"
"How many years (are you =) have you been married?"
56. "Tránda, tránda-pantš, in seráv."
"Thirty, thirty-five, I don't remember."
57. "Xánas-túmen her gyun?" "Soró gyes."
"Were you arguing every day?" "All day (long)."
58. "Sebébi sas kay džálas averénsa da."
"The reason was that she was going out with others too."
59. "Akána pašé džanés sas kántšik, kay džálas averénsa."
"Right now you know there was nothing (in it), that she was going out with others."
60. "Akána ninás-la kántšik, ay kána sas terní sas-la dóstura."
"Now she did not have anything (of the sort) but when she was young she had boy friends."
61. "Ta serdán-les sovná kadikí brešéndar?"
"And you remembered it after so many years?"
62. "Sa xálas-man kadoá o gúndos, násti bistarávas-les."
"That thought always gnawed at me, it (is =) was impossible to forget it."
63. "So sas kodová kay kerdás-tut arakí te mudarés-la?"
"What was it which made you kill her yesterday?"
64. "Traš kay p(h)enélas-les kay me xurdé."
"Fear that she would tell it to my children."
65. "Kázom dián-la e tšurása?"
"How many (sc. blows) did you give her with the knife?"
66. "Kimbíri seráv kázom diém-la—yaz but."
"How can I remember how many I gave her—write, many."
67. "Džanés kay ki romní mulí?" "So te kerás?"
"Do you know that your wife is dead?" "What (can) we do?"
68. Ek kay bešélas páša lénde p(h)endás:
(Some)one who was living near them said:
69. "Enya-te-paš o saáto arakí to proí ašundém
"At nine-thirty o'clock yesterday morning I heard
70. sézes katár o k(h)er e Georgósko. Délas yúrgya
cries from George's house. (She) was giving shrieks,

71. léski romní ta mangélas te kurtarúrus-la.
his wife, and was asking us to save her.
72. Prastiém dži koté ta sar dav and'i kuzína
I ran up to there and as I (give =) went into the kitchen
73. diklém-la pa i phuv and'e ratá. Páše láte
I saw her on the floor in (the bloods =) a pool of blood. Near her
74. sas ek bari tšurí sar tovér. Axlanúras ta
was a big knife like an ax. She was moaning and
75. sané sezyása mangélas te kurtarúrus-la.
in a weak voice was begging us to save her.
76. 'Dévla, kurtár-man, meráv.' Bi te risáav
'God, save me, I'm dying.' Before I (could) turn
77. te kurtarúrum-la, inklistás katár o koa dhomátio
to save her, (there) came out from the next room
78. ta diás and'i kuzína láko rom.
and (gave into =) entered the kitchen her hudband.
79. 'Betéri, džungaléa, so kerdán?' pendém léske.
'Scoundrel, brute, what have you done?' I said to him.
80. Vov kerdás te inklél and'avlín. Ašundás
He (made =) started to go out into (the) yard. He heard
81. axlanúrmata pe romnáke, (i)risáylo párpale,
the groans of his wife, turned back,
82. liás i tšurí telál ta phendás, 'Daá traysarés?'
took the ax (from below =) from the floor and said, 'Are you still alive?'
83. Sovná karfosardás o nak e tšuryáko ka i tšam
Then he slammed the nose of the knife on to the cheek
84. e romnáki kay merélas. Tšutás i tšurí
of his wife who was dying. He threw the knife
85. pa i phuv ta inklistás andar o kher."
on to the ground and went out of the house."

Comments

1. *éksurya* i.e. *ek súrya* 'a heap, a lot', followed by noun in apposition, as regularly in Greek, cf. Greek *éna soró vivlía* 'a heap books' = 'a lot of books.'

4. *avén-len* 'come to them', equivalent to *si-len*, cf. *Glossary* s.v. *aváv*; *kay* for *kaék* 'any'; *próvlima* 'problem', Greek noun.

5. *mikroladhémboros* 'retail (olive) oil merchant', Greek word taken over from the Greek original; *tholosáylo* 'clouded over', Romany preterite passive formed on Greek aorist stem.

6. *to proí* 'in the morning', Greek phrase.

11. *o tmíma* 'the police station', Greek neuter noun turned into Romany masculine (another word for 'police station' at Text No. 1, 11).

12. *mizméri* 'noon', but provided with a Greek article, as if the Greek word, *mesiméri*, had been used; *háyir* 'no', has lost its initial Turkish aspiration.

13. *apándisi* 'answer', Greek noun, feminine.

14. *sebébi* 'cause', not listed in *Glossary*, Turkish *sebeb*, also at (23) and (58); *dhikeoloyía* 'excuse', Greek noun.

15. *yašardú* 'lived', Turkish-type preterite from Turkish *yaşamak* 'live'.

16. *yaváši* 'gentle, docile', although the Turkish adjective *yavaş* usually means 'slow', it can also have this meaning; *ay* 'but', also at (26), (28), and (60), not in *Glossary*;[3] *sto télos* 'finally', Greek phrase.

18. *džungaló* 'savage, brutal', not in *Glossary* but already in Paspati (1870:555), treated as noun in vocative case below (79).

19. *davérnes* 'night spots', variant of Greek *tavérna*, an elastic term which can range from a very simple restaurant to a fancy night club with music and dancing.

20. *pišmán oldú* 'was sorry', from Turkish.

21. *todásas* 'had put', pluperfect, as is *kerdásas* (27), cf. comment on *latšardásas* above, Text No. 2 (10).

22. *i sinxoreméni* 'the late lamented', lit. 'the pardoned one', Greek religious term for a woman recently deceased.

27. *yašipé* 'life', not in *Glossary*, noun based on the verb *yašaráv* (15) above.

33. *nakadé šukár* 'they had a good time', lit. 'passed (the time) beautifully', probably a calque on Greek *pérasan kalá*.

38. *kimbíri* 'approximately, more or less', also at (66) below, in all probability a mistaken echo of Turkish *kim bilir?* 'who knows?'.

40. *latšarél* 'prepare', lit. 'improve', cf. meaning in Text No. 2, (10).

41. *zeíri* 'poison', not in *Glossary*, from Turkish *zehir*.

47. *pandú* 'everywhere', Greek adverb.

49. *síguros* 'sure', Greek adjective; *ipopsyasáavas* 'I was suspicious', like *ipopsyasáos* 'you were suspicious' (51), irregular Romany imperfect based on Greek *ipopsyázome* 'I suspect' (mediopassive in form).

50. *apó kána* 'since when?', Romany *kána* 'when' has replaced Greek *póte* in this construction.

54. *sanedirímas* 'I assumed', Romany imperfect ending tacked on to a Turkish-type preterite, see *Glossary* s.v. *sanírim.*

62. *gúndos* 'thought', listed in *Glossary* as *gúndo.*

66. *yaz* 'write', imperative, *Glossary* lists *yazaráv*, Romany rather than Turkish conjugation.

67. *so te kerás* 'what (can) we do?' probably a calque on the very common Greek phrase, *ti na kánume?*

70. *sézes* 'cries', although in *Glossary sezyá* is the plural of *sézi* 'voice', here a new singular, *sezyá*, has been formed, cf. *sezyása* in (75) below, with a new plural *sézyes* spelled and perhaps pronounced *sézes*; *yúrgya* 'cries for help', occurs in Greek (*yúrya*), ultimately an exclamation based on Turkish *yürümek* in the sense 'go on, hurry'.

71. *kurtarúrus*, also at (75) 'we rescue', present tense, also *kurtár-man* 'save me' (76), imperative, and *te kurtarúrum* 'that I rescue' (77), present tense with subjunctive function, Turkish-type verbal conjugation (*Glossary*, para. 16 j) from Turkish *kurtarmak.*

73. *and'e ratá* 'in (the bloods =) a pool of blood', probably a calque on Greek *sta émata*, also in plural.

74. *axlanúras* 'she was moaning', Romany imperfect ending added to Turkish-type present stem based on Turkish *ağlamak*, with a Romany noun derivative, *axlanúrmata* 'groans' (81).

79. *betéri* 'scoundrel', not in *Glossary* which does list *bezbetéri* with the same meaning, ultimately from Turkish *beter* 'worse'.

81. *párpale* 'back', *Glossary* lists as *pálpale.*

83. *karfosardás* 'slammed', lit. 'nailed', preterite of Romany *karfosaráv* formed on Greek aorist stem *karfos-*; *o nak e tšuryáko* 'the nose of the knife', literal translation of the Greek original.

Notes

Acknowledgments. I wish to thank my colleague, Professor Peter Kuniholm, for help with Turkish elements in these Romany texts.

[1]See *Glossary*:28-30 on Turkish and Greek vocabulary in this dialect.

[2]The inadequacy of the Greek alphabet to cope with written Greek Romany is particularly serious since it is the most obvious vehicle for eventual composition by the Gypsies in Greece. I have discussed this problem in detail elsewhere (Messing 1991). Since the retention by the translators here of standard Greek spelling might confuse Greekless readers, I have replaced such spellings in this and the subsequent texts by a roughly phonemic transcription, writing, for example, *isitírio* 'ticket' instead of *eisitḗrio*. I also write *th* and *dh* for Greek theta and delta rather than using these Greek letters in their usual phonetic values. Otherwise, *h* after a consonant indicates aspiration.

[3]*Ay* occurs in the Kalderaš dialect regularly in the meaning 'and'. The transition from 'and' to 'but' is an easy one. In Jono 1986 one can see how it occurs. At John 1.11 the King James version reads: "He came unto his own, *and* (i.e. *and yet, but*) his own received him not." In the Romany, this is rendered: "ai lake či line la."

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Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society 5,Vol. 1, No. 2 (1991)

Case in Romani: Old Grammar in New Affixes

Victor A. Friedman

The dative, locative, ablative, instrumental, and genitive affixes of Romani have been described both as cases and as postpositions. The question is not merely one of terminology but concerns the interpretation of the structure of Romani, the place of Romani typologically among the languages of the world, and the codification and teaching of Literary Romani. Most authors simply assume one or the other analysis, although the postpositional approach has been explicitly defended. In this paper I address the issues in eleven points and conclude that the Romani morphemes in question have made the transition from clitic postpositions to agglutinative case affixes. I also address the question of whether the genitive is inflectional or derivational and conclude that in a synchronic analysis it must be treated as inflectional.

Introduction

The question of Romani nominal inflection is of interest to all those concerned with the Roms and their language. The basic problem is whether the so-called dative, locative, ablative, instrumental, and genitive affixes are cases or postpositions. The question is not merely one of terminology but concerns basic issues of both the interpretation

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of the structure of Romani and the place of Romani typologically among the languages of the world. The problem of differentiating a grammatical word from an affix concerns the very nature of the boundaries between words, clitics, and affixes and between morphology and syntax (cf. Zwicky 1977). Moreover, the analysis of Romani nominal structure has serious consequences for studies of implicational linguistic universals (cf. Greenberg 1966). For those concerned with the codification of Literary Romani and the use of Romani in schools and other cultural and educational institutions, the choice of solution will effect how Romani is analyzed, taught, and perceived. In this paper I address the issues connected with this analysis point by point and conclude that the Romani morphemes in question have arguably made the transition from clitic postpositions to agglutinative case affixes.

There is no dispute concerning the fact that like other modern Indic languages, Romani eliminated most of the inherited Indo-European declensional system of Sanskrit and Prakrit —preserving only the nominative, accusative and vocative— and replaced the other cases with a series of postpositions added to an oblique stem. Unlike the other Indic languages, however, Romani does not have a complex set of free standing postpositions. On the contrary, it has only five affixes which more or less correspond in function to the five Sanskrit cases they replaced (dative, locative, genitive, ablative, instrumental). Most scholars present some or all of these affixes either as cases (e.g., Jusuf 1981, Kostov 1962, Ventcel' and Čerenkov 1976) or as postpositions (e.g., Bhatia 1964, Grumet 1985, Hancock 1985a) without addressing the question of why one view is preferable to the other.[1] In older works such as Paspati (1973 [1870]) and Sampson (1968 [1926]) the postpositional origin or agglutinative nature of the affixes is stressed, but they are treated as cases nonetheless. Cortiade (1992) presents arguments to justify the analysis of these affixes as postpositions (cf. also Ramadani 1989), but no one has attempted to justify the analysis of these affixes as inflectional, which I now propose to do. I shall argue that although the distinction between clitic postposition and agglutinative case is a difficult one to draw, nonetheless the affixes of Romani have made that transition. Moreover, the resultant paradigm essentially replicates the case system of Sanskrit on the basis of new grammatical material.

Before proceeding with the arguments and counter-arguments, let us begin with the paradigms of the substantives *čhavo* 'boy'

(masc.) and *balval* 'wind' (fem.), which are given below to illustrate the affixes in question using a phonetic spelling of forms typical of more conservative non-Vlax Balkan Romani dialects.

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.
Nominative	čhavo	balval	čhave	balvala
Vocative	čhav[e]a	balvalie	čhavale[n]	balvalale[n]
Accusative	čhave[s]	balvala	čhaven	balvalen
Dative	čhaveske	balvalake	čhavenge	balvalenge
Locative	čhaveste	balvalate	čhavende	balvalende
Ablative	čhavestar	balvalatar	čhavendar	balvalendar
Instrumental	čhave[s]a[<r>]	balvala[s]a[<r>]	čhavenca<r>	balvalenca<r>
Genitive	čhavesk[or]o..	balvalak[or]o..	čhaveng[or]o..	balvaleng[or]o..

[In most dialects, the accusative is only used for animate objects and pronouns while inanimate substantives are left in the nominative. However animate objects in the nominative and inanimate objects in the accusative also occur, e.g., *dikhlas jekh butdžandlo gadžo* 'he saw a wise non-Rom' (Paramičia 1981:79); *gele ande jekhe vešes* 'they went into a forest' (Gilliat-Smith [8] 1912:85). Ellipses after the genitive indicate that the final vowel can also be [-i], [-e], and in some dialects [-a] (fem. sg. obl.) depending on the gender, number, and case of the head noun (cf. Cortiade 1990). All examples are given in the original orthography in which they appeared. An exception is made for Gilliat-Smith's representation of schwa by means of the letter called in Bulgarian *er-goljam*. This symbol is replaced with ə.]

Let us now consider the arguments that have been or could be adduced in favor of a postpositional analysis. Most of these are to be found in Marcel Cortiade's forthcoming Grammar of Romani and article on Romani nominal morphology, and I am indebted to him for sharing advance copies of these with me. After each argument in favor of a postpositional analysis I shall supply a counter-argument in favor of case.

1.

Postpositional argument: The affixes were postpositional in origin and are clearly postpositional in the modern languages of India. Trying to analyze them as cases is forcing Romani into the mold of classical grammar.

Case reply: After a millennium or more of separation Romani has diverged significantly from the other Indic languages. Aside from this closed set of affixes, Romani is a strictly prepositional language. Even dialects heavily influenced by postpositional languages, e.g. that of Agia Varvara (Athens), borrows postpositions as prepositions even while keeping Turkish case agreement. Thus, for example, the meaning 'after' is usually expressed by the preposition *pala* plus the nominative or locative, e.g., *pala i Patrigi* 'after Easter', *pala mande* 'after me' (Messing 1988). The dialect of Agia Varvara, however, also uses the preposition *sona* from the Turkish postposition *sonra*, which, as in the Turkish model, takes the ablative case, e.g., *sona dui tšonendar* 'after two months' (Messing 1988:114) = Turkish *iki aydan sonra*.[2] Given that what were originally postpositions or postpositional enclitics now form a non-productive, closed set with at most five members, we have reason to suspect that Romani has made the transition from postpositional enclitics to agglutinative cases. The fact that its restructured system of agglutinative cases based on former postpositions is closer to Sanskrit than to the modern languages of India reflects Romani's own internal tendencies and not an attempt to impose a Sanskrit analysis on Romani material (cf. Slobin 1986 on recurring structures).

2.

Postpositional argument: The adjective can have at most only two case forms, nominative and oblique, e.g., the phrase meaning 'my young bride': *mi terni bori* (nom.), *me terne borja* (acc.), *me terne borjake* (dat.), etc. versus e.g., Serbo-Croatian *moja mlada snaha, moju mladu snahu, mojoj mladoj snasi.* Hence, the postposition is modifying the entire phrase.

Case reply: Few or no adjectival cases is typical of agglutinating case systems like those found in Altaic and Caucasian languages, e.g. Turkish, Georgian, Lak. The distinction between case and postposition can be seen in a phrase with more than one substantive, e.g. Georgian *disa da dzmisagan* 'from sister and brother' (*-isa* = gen. case, *-gan* = enclitic postposition 'from'; cf. Aronson 1969). In Ro-

mani, however, the affix must be repeated each time, e.g., *O thagar vojničenca, pajtonenca, bašalimasa, zurnavenca, davulenca džana e borja te ingelen* (Kostov 1962:33) 'The king with soldiers, carts, music, oboes [and] drums [they] come to get the bride'. Finally, there is the fact that in some dialects of Romani adjectives do agree in case with the substantives they modify, e.g. *barestar romestar* 'from the big Rom' (Ventcel' and Čerenkov 1976:308). Admittedly, this last type of construction is rare, and apparently not used consistently even in the dialects where it occurs, but the very fact of its existence is an indication of case.

3.

Postpositional argument: Unlike traditionally inflected Indo-European languages, the Romani affixes do not differ according to the gender/number of the stem, e.g. Romani datives *romes-ke, romnia-ke* vs the Serbo-Croatian datives *muž-u, žen-e.* There are only two cases, and all the affixes are added to the oblique case.

Case reply: Romani is typologically distinct from its genetic relatives. The affixes we are studying are *agglutinative*; therefore they do not reflect any grammatical category other than case. Marking for gender and number is carried by the oblique stem suffix to which the case affixes attach. There are other languages with agglutinating case, e.g. Lak, that distinguish two stems, with all oblique cases being added to the oblique stem, e.g., nom. *qqatta* 'house', gen. *qqatt-lu-l*, dat. *qqat-lu-n*, abl. *qqat-lu-šša*, etc.

4.

Postpositional argument: The descendants of the Sanskrit locative and ablative, viz. *-e*, and *-al*, still survive in a few words, e.g., *khere* vs *khereste* vs *and-o kher* 'at home' vs 'in the house' vs 'inside the house', *dromal* 'along the road'(vs *dromestar, kotar-o drom* 'from the road'). Since these are true cases, the new locative and ablative must be treated as postpositions. To these complications can be added the use of invariable *-qo* (= [*-ko/-go*]) with certain body parts to denote position or motion: *beś bulăqo* 'sit down', *khelèna koćenqo* 'they dance kneeling' cited by Cortiade (1990).

Case reply: For an affix to be a case marker, it must be able to attach to all or almost all the nominals that are formally capable of

permitting it. Descendants of the Sanskrit locative and ablative in Romani, however, are limited to a handful of individual lexical items and the Romani affixes are non-productive. These affixes do not constitute case markers in modern Romani any more than survivals of the Common Slavic instrumental in a few Macedonian adverbs, e.g. *kradum* 'stealthily', *nazadgazum* 'backasswards', can justify a claim that Macedonian has an instrumental case. The Romani relic forms are non-paradigmatic; synchronically they are adverbs and prepositions. The same argument applies to the use of *-qo* with body parts to denote position or motion.

5.

Postpositional argument: Two and more rarely three affixes can be combined, e.g., *than* 'place' > *thanesqere* 'of the place' > *thanesqerençar* 'with the ones of the place, i.e. with the locals'; similarly *me ćhavenqerenqeres8ar* 'with the one of those of my children' (a potential form in the Džambaz dialect according to Šaip Jusuf as reported in Cortiade [1992]). Such combination is characteristic of postpositions and prepositions (cf. English *into*), not cases.

Case reply: The Romani situation is exactly like Georgian double declension. In both languages only the genitive can serve as the base for secondary case endings. Forms such as *thaneskerençar* 'with [those] of the place' cited above are paralleled exactly by Modern Georgian constructions with a declined genitive, e.g. *mta* 'mountain', gen. *mt-is[a]*, dat. *mta-s*, gen.-dat. *mt-isa-s* 'to [those] of the mountain' (Vogt 1971:36). In Old Georgian genitives normally preceded their heads, e.g., *mep-isa kal-i* 'king's daughter', instr. *mep-isa kal-ita* . If the genitive followed, however, it took an additional case affix to agree with its head, e.g., *kal-i mep-isa-y* (nom.), *kal-ita mep-isa-yta* (instr). Precisely the same situation holds in Romani dialects such as Mečkar as reported by Cortiade (1992), e.g., *me amalesqe phenǎça* 'with my friend's sister' but *e phenaça me amalesqeraça* 'with the sister of my friend'. This is clearly an instance of case agreement, no lexical information is carried by the second instrumental marker, only syntactic.

6.

Postpositional argument:. In dialects where the stress system has not been seriously disrupted by external influence, stress is oxytonic on native words. The fact that these affixes are unstressed classes them as enclitics.

Case reply: There are other bound terminal morphemes of native origin that are not stressed, e.g. the ordinal morpheme *-to* :*štar* 'four' > *štárto* 'fourth', the morpheme *-var* 'times', e.g. *duj* 'two' > *dúvar* 'twice'. There are also unstressed inflectional affixes that cannot be analyzed as postpositional, e.g. *Róma* (voc. sg.) vs *Romá* (nom. pl.), *Romníe* (voc. sg.) vs *Romniá* (nom. pl.). Finally, case affixes can cause a shift of stress whereas enclitics do not, e.g., *tərgóvtsos* 'merchant', *tərgovtsóskeri* (gen.) but *kása* 'cash box', *kása-da* , 'cash box, too' (Gilliat-Smith[4] 1911-12a:2-8). Since there already exist two classes of bound terminal morphemes—those that attract stress and those that do not—the fact that case markers do not attract stress is not evidence that they are clitics rather than affixes.

7.

Postpositional argument: The dative *-ke* and locative *-te* are separable and can also occur prepositionally thus pointing to their clitic rather than affixal nature.

Case reply: The relationship of the prepositions *ke, te* to the case affixes *-ke, -te* is at best historical and does not affect the analysis of the latter as synchronic case markers. In modern Balkan Romani the locative preposition *te* has been replaced by *ke*, e.g. *ki jek aindž = jekhe aindžate* 'in a field' (Jusuf 1980:32,33). There are two problems brought out by this example. First, the form *ki* is governing an indefinite noun phrase, which suggests that *ki* and *ko* have been lexicalized and can no longer be treated as elisions of *ke* plus the definite articles *o* (masc. nom.) and *i* (fem. nom.) as has been done in the past. Second, the preposition *ke/ki/ko* corresponds to two different case affixes. Synchronically, therefore, the preposition cannot be treated as a preposed postposition nor can the case markers be described as preposable. Cortiade (1990) also rejects the identification of the affixes with the prepositions.

8.

Postpositional argument: Cortiade (1990,1992) cites the example *Esma kiri gili* 'Esma's song"on Esma Redžepova's first phonograph record, where the affix is spelled separately as is the convention in Urdu, as evidence that these affixes are perceived as separate units.

Case reply: Record and cassette covers frequently display arbitrary or downright erroneous word division and should not be taken as reflecting native-speaker perceptions. Thus, for example, the word division in *Kotaro tik nipa* (Ramuš Ramuši) = *Kotar-o tiknipa* 'Since childhood' cannot be justified by any argument. Other examples are the following: *Namangelama* (Ibraim Šemsi and Djula Fetahi) = *Na mangela ma* '[She] doesn't want me'; *Ustiljum sabajle mo muj tetovav* (Čizmoli Muharam and Kajtazi Djemailj) = *Ustiljum sabajle mo muj te tovav* 'I got up in the morning to wash my face'; *Sote ćerav* (Jovanka Stanković) = *so te kerav* 'what can I do?'; *Moilo čhindilo* (Esma Redžepova) = *Mo ilo čhindilo* 'My heart has been broken'.

There are several other arguments that favor the synchronic treatment of Romani case affixes as agglutinative case markers rather than as enclitic postpositions.

9.

In morphophonological terms, the alternation between voiced and voiceless stops in the genitive, dative, locative, and ablative must be treated as a progressive assimilation of voicing after sonorants. Progressive voicing assimilation does not occur across word boundaries in Romani. Thus, for example, the initial /t/ of the enclitic *ta[r]* used as an emphatic marker on verb forms, especially imperatives, remains voiceless regardless of the preceding consonant, e.g., *án-ta máŋge jek čhurí* 'now bring me a knife' (Gilliat-Smith[3]:1910b:147), *náŋghjov-ta* 'now strip' (Gilliat–Smith[3]:1910b:143). In fact, when voicing assimilation occurs with enclitics or across word boundaries, it is regressive, as can be seen in the following examples: with *-da* 'and, also, too': *Léz-da kaxáv* 'Him, too, I shall eat' (Gilliat-Smith[1] 1910a:191) (*les* 'him'); with *biš* 'twenty': *biž džené* 'twenty persons' (Gilliat-Smith[4] 1911-12a:3).

On the other hand, synchronic progressive assimilation of voicing does occur in other inflectional and derivational contexts. In

some dialects, we have it in derivation, e.g. *thud* 'milk' > *thudvalo* 'milky' but *rat* 'blood' > *ratfalo* 'bloody' (as well as *ratvalo*; Uhlik 1983:145). The formation of past participles in Balkan Romani can also be described in terms of progressive assimilation of voicing. After sonorants we have /d/ or /l/, elsewhere /t/ or /l/ e.g. *phando* or *phanlo* 'bound' vs *bešlo* or *bešto* 'seated'. After vowels /l/ is normal, e.g., *ha-lo* 'eaten', *pi-lo* 'drunk', *mu-lo* 'dead', but /t/ also occurs, e.g., *su-to* 'slept'. All those cases of vowel + /d/ in the past participle are from stems ending in /v/, which, after Cortiade (1992), can be treated as part of the stem or as epenthetic. Thus, for example, *čhivel* 'put, throw' can have a variety of past participles in different dialects depending on the treatment of the /v/ as epenthetic—*čhito*—or as part of the stem with or without elision: *čhivdo~čhido*. Synchronically, the dental stop past participle formant can be analyzed as basic /t/ with a rule for voicing to /d/ after sonorants. By treating Romani case affixes as inflectional, we can have a single morphophonemic progressive voicing rule that applies within a word at morpheme boundaries and a single regressive voicing rule that applies optionally across word boundaries; thus the separation of morpheme boundary from word boundary in Romani is reinforced by means of different directions of voicing assimilation. If the case affixes are treated as enclitic post-positions, the symmetry breaks down and the generalization is lost.

10

Réné Gsell has argued (Cortiade: personal communication 21/IV/90) that since in dialects such as Čergar, where *s* > *h*/ ___#, i.e. older /s/ is realized as /h/ in final position, we find *h* (< *s*) in case affixes, e.g., *romeh, romehtar, romehko*, etc., they are postpositions. Certainly from a diachronic point of view this is additional evidence of their postpositional origin. But even in these dialects there is vacillation between *h* and *s* when case affixes are added, and unless the change of *s* > *h* /___ # is still a living rule, the argument does not bear on synchronic analysis.

11.

Finally, we come to the function of the case affixes. There are three principle questions to be addressed: the status of the vocative, the status of the genitive, and grammatical vs lexical function in the other case forms.

The Vocative

In a recent article, Schooneveld (1989) has summarized the major arguments surrounding the theoretical question of the vocative as a case. I concur with his conclusion that it is a "case not like the others" (p. 185), i.e., despite its peculiar semantic features, it can still be considered part of a declensional paradigm. The Romani vocative is not enclitic but inflectional, as evidenced by its stress patterns and independent vocalic realizations, and it takes oblique adjective agreement, e.g., *Bare raja!* 'O great lord!' (Paramičia 1981:84). It is thus clear that insofar as the vocative is a case at all, it is a case in Romani.

The Genitive

The genitive presents a different problem. Unlike the other cases, the genitive agrees with its head in gender-number-case as can be seen from the following examples: *e rakleskoro dad* 'the boy's father' (nom. sg.); *e rakleskiri daj* 'the boy's mother' (nom. sg.); *e rakleskere amale[s], amala, amalen,* 'the boy's friend(s)' (acc.sg., nom.pl., acc.pl.). As a result of this agreement, many analyses treat the genitive as a possessive adjective (e.g., Ventcel' and Čerenkov 1976; Sampson 1968 [1926]:35). That the genitive can be declined in some dialects and sometimes even agrees in case with the substantive it modifies, as described above, are also cited as facts supporting the analysis of the genitive as a derivational suffix rather than as an inflectional one. There are, however, a number of arguments in favor of not treating the genitive as a case rather than as a derivational marker (cf. Also Grumet 1985):

G1. Unlike adjectives, the genitive is modified by an oblique article even when its head is in the nominative, e.g., *Liljás pes o tərgovtsos, e rakljakoro dad.* (Gilliat-Smith [4] 1911-12a:4) 'The merchant, the girl's father, set off'.

G2. All derivational affixes attach to the bare or nominative stem whereas genitives attach to the oblique stem, e.g. *manúsh* 'man, male' > *manushés* 'acc.' > *manushéskoro* 'gen.'

manúsh > *manushanó* = *manushicanó* 'masculine, manly', *manushipé* 'masculinity, manliness', *manushoró* 'diminutive, little man' (Paspati 1973 [1870]:351-52).

Moreover, the genitive has the typical inflectional features of being both semantically transparent and totally predictable in its application to all substantives.

G3. The genitive can be used as the object of verbs and prepositions. Such uses are clearly non-attributive and in some dialects, we find the genitive substituting for the dative, e.g., *O phral phenel lengoro* 'The brother says to them' and *Thovel len opral lengoro ko šero* 'He puts them (the trays) onto them (his mother and sister) on the[ir] head[s]' (Gilliat-Smith [3] 1910b:146). In most dialects, the preposition *bi* 'without' takes the genitive, e.g. *bi lovengoro* 'without money'. Some accounts of Romani treat *bi* as a prefix added to possessive adjectives to derive a privative adjective, but this account is belied by the fact that *bi* can occur at the head of entire noun phrases, e.g., *bi akale purane gadenqo* (Cortiade 1992) 'without these old clothes' and in phrases where its function is clearly neither adjectival nor possessive, e.g., *bi moro* (Kostov 1962:139) 'without me' not 'without my'. Moreover, the prepositional nature of *bi* and the declensional nature of the genitive account for the fact that in some dialects *bi* can take a different case, e.g., the instrumental in *Lake pharo ulo bi romesa* (Paramičia 1981:83) 'It was difficult for her without [her] husband'.

G4. Typologically, declined and agreeing genitives are found in other languages of the world (cf. the Georgian examples cited above, also Daghestanian [Mel'čuk 1986:83]).

Including the genitive with the other case affixes accounts for its paradigmatic nature, for the shape of the stem to which it attaches and of the definite article that modifies it, as well as for those meanings and uses that are neither possessive nor adjectival. It also allows for a correct treatment of dialectal variation in preposition and case usage. As we have already seen, head agreement, which is the only possible synchronic justification for treating the genitive affix as derivational rather than inflectional, is a phenomenon to which genitives in general are prone, and using it as the justification for classifying the genitive as a derivational affix leaves all the inflectional features of the Romani genitive unaccounted for. (We should note that the relationship of substantivized genitives to their sources, e.g. *bēr[en]ŋerō* 'sailor'< *bērō* 'ship'[Sampson 1968 (1926):34], is strictly etymological. The lexicalization of oblique forms is well known in many languages with living case systems, e.g., Russian *r'adom* both the instrumental case of *r'ad* 'row' and an adverb meaning 'alongside'. Such derivational

processes do not alter the paradigmatic nature of the suffixes involved.)

Lexical vs Grammatical

Our final arguments concern the grammatical versus lexical functions of the affixes. Most of the case affixes of Romani serve purely syntactic functions in addition to their obvious lexical meanings. With the exception of the vocative, all of these affixes can occur both alone and with prepositions in at least some dialects. We have already seen examples of prepositional constructions with all the possible cases except the accusative and dative, e.g., *upral me Batimjes sovel xaljom* 'I've sworn an oath on my Batim' (Gilliat-Smith [5]1911-12b:283), *asal e Romeske* 'for the sake of the Rom'. Cortiade (1990) reports similar uses of borrowed prepositions with oblique cases in Manush and Bulgarian Romani. Particularly interesting is the Bulgarian Romani example *za e neve lekakolaqe* 'about the new car'. Since Bulgarian has lost most vestiges of Slavic case, the use of the dative in Romani reflects a native Romani case-assignment. Given that the preposition is carrying the lexical meaning in these examples, the function of the case affix in these contexts is syntactic. The dative also functions as the marker of the indirect object, the ethical dative, and other non-concrete functions: *oj phenela pe dadeske* 'She says to her father' (Paramičia 1981:79); *Te na kames mange te patjes, dža dikh!* 'If you don't want to believe me, go look' (Paramičia 1981:82); *Uxtino kaj gelo peske* 'He got up and left' (lit. went to/for himself; Šejtanov 1933:26). The ablative can be used in comparisons as well as for the agent in passives: *Vov si mandar pobarvalo* 'He is richer than I' (Kostov 1962:133); *O čhavo thovel pes pe dajatar'* The child is washed by his mother' (Kostov 1962:138). The case affixes of Romani serve grammatical, i.e. purely syntactic functions of the type not carried out by prepositions, enclitics or by word order. They thus differ functionally as well as formally from both prepositions and enclitics.

Conclusion

To summarize, the arguments in favor of treating the Romani nominal affixes as agglutinative case suffixes rather than as enclitic postpositions are the following:

1. The other morphemes affected by the progressive assimilation of voicing rule that accounts for the shape of four out of five of these affixes in the plural are all inflectional and derivational. Enclitics do not assimilate voicing progressively but rather can cause a regressive assimilation.

2. Romani is a strictly prepositional language and the five affixes in question constitute a closed, paradigmatic set. Even dialects heavily influenced by postpositional languages borrow postpositions as prepositions and calque case suffixes with the appropriate Romani case suffix.

3. The case suffixes also perform purely grammatical functions, whereas the enclitics have lexical meaning. In some dialects we even find purely syntactic case agreement within the noun phrase.

4. All those arguments pointing to the postpositional origin of these affixes and/or comparing Romani with its genetic sibling languages are mixing diachronic with synchronic criteria. In a strictly synchronic analysis Romani behaves typologically like other languages with agglutinative case, e.g. Altaic, Kartvelian, and Daghestanian.

It is interesting to note that the resemblance of the Romani case system to that of Sanskrit is not the result of an externally imposed analysis. Even if one were to insist on treating these affixes as enclitic postpositions, the fact would remain that the undeniable inflected cases and the old postpositions still constitute a closed set precisely mirroring the earlier Sanskrit situation. In the Romani case system we have an example of an isolated offshoot recapitulating the structure of the parent language comparable to the restructuring of the Macedonian verbal system in the southwesternmost dialects (cf. Friedman 1988).

Romani shares with the other modern Indic languages the development of clitic postpositions, but postpositional development stopped at that in Romani while it continued in the languages of India. Given these facts, it is reasonable to assume that the interruption of the postpositional restructuring typical of Indic languages and the shift to prepositional constructions took place after the Roms left Indic-speaking territory. We have no documentation concerning the relative

chronology of these structural changes, just as we have no certain data concerning the exact time of the exodus from India, whether it was a single event or a series of events, or when the Roms actually entered the Balkans. All we can say with certainty is that it is generally agreed upon that the ancestors of the Roms left India sometime in the early middle ages and that by the late middle ages they were in the Balkans (cf. Hancock 1985b:1-5). In the first recorded Romani texts (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), the modern system was already in place. The shift from postpositional to prepositional structure must have occurred therefore sometime between the exodus and the period of the first recorded texts. Moreover, it is possible that the Roms arrived in the Balkans before this restructuring was completed. It is thus not beyond the realm of possibility that the shift from a postpositional structure characteristic of India to a prepositional structure characteristic of the Indo-European languages of the Balkans occurred or was completed on Balkan territory, depending on when the Roms actually arrived there.

Although the received wisdom concerning Balkan nominal structure is that the tendency is toward analyticity and loss of declension, in fact there are also significant examples of agglutination and preservation of case distinctions in the nominal systems of the languages of this region. Thus, for example, Balkan Romance, Balkan Slavic, and Albanian all developed enclitic postposed definite articles, which are essentially agglutinative affixes and which, in Balkan Romance, Albanian and peripheral Balkan Slavic dialects, also serve as vehicles for case marking. While it is true that most Balkan Slavic dialects lost virtually all nominal declension, it is also true that modern Balkan Romance is the only Romance group to preserve remnants of such declension. Thus the move from postposed analyticity to agglutination in Romani could be viewed as a possible Balkanism related to the formation of the case/article systems of Albanian and Romanian and the article system of Macedonian and Bulgarian. Until such time as earlier documents in Romani or concerning the exact chronology of Romani migrations are discovered, however, this conjecture must remain entirely speculative.

Notes

Acknowledgments. This paper was presented at the 1990 Annual Meeting of the Gypsy Lore Society, Staten Island, NY. An earlier version is scheduled to appear in *Studia Gramatyczne* (Polish Academy of Sciences), vol. 11.

[1]Zograf (1976:195-196) notes that the argument over what constitutes a case and what a postposition in the modern Indic languages has engendered considerable debate. His own criterion is that if the nouns of the language have oblique stems, then anything following those stems is a postposition, whereas if the language attaches elements to an undifferentiated stem, then those elements are cases. By this criterion, East Indic languages such as Bengali, Assamese, and Oriya have a variety of oblique cases corresponding to postpositions in West Indic languages such as Hindi, Nepali, Punjabi, Sindhi, Gujarati, and Marathi. By such a criterion, Romani falls with the West Indic languages, to which it is more closely related. In the same volume, however, Ventcel' and Čerenkov (1976:303ff.) treat Romani as having cases rather than postpositions. Without getting embroiled in the general Indic debate, we can argue that Romani must be considered on its own terms as distinct from the rest of modern Indic in this respect because the languages of India are all postpositional, whereas Romani is prepositional with the only possible exceptions being these five affixes. Thus for the Indic languages of India, the issue is distinguishing true postpositions from other postposed elements, whereas in Romani the question is whether the postposed elements are inflectional or enclitic, there being no freestanding postpositions to contrast with the case elements.

[2]Gilliat-Smith (1915/16:87) did record the use of the Turkish postposition *beri* as a postposition, e.g., *siknára-berí* or *siknara-dán-berí* 'since childhood'. This second example uses the Turkish ablative case suffix, which is required in Turkish by the postposition *beri*. He also records *de idžára-berí* 'since yesterday', where *de* is a Romanian loan preposition meaning 'since'. The use of *berí*, however, is extremely limited and quite different from that of the case affixes. If anything, its postpositional use in those dialects where it occurred and perhaps still occurs argues in favor of distinguishing between true postpositions that take the nominative or a loan form and case affixes, that attach to the native oblique stem.

[3]Ramadani (1989) uses an apparent genitive with a non-oblique article, e.g. in the title of her article. Elsewhere in the article, however, she does use oblique modifiers with the genitive. Under such circumstances, I would argue that apparent genitives with nominative modifiers are relexicalized, given that there are also genitives with oblique modifiers.

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Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society 5, Vol. 1, No. 2 (1991)

The Little Maple Tree: A Transylvanian Gypsy Folk Tale With Songs

Katalin Kovalcsik and Endre Tálos

A Vlach Gypsy tale belonging to the Maple-tree type (AaTh 780) is analyzed from ethnological, ethnomusical, and linguistic viewpoints. The tale was collected from Sîngeorgiu de Mureş, Romania, formerly in Hungary. Hungarian patterns are found in the proportion and positioning of loan words. The narrator incorporates parts of Vlach Gypsy slow lyrical songs in the performance. The melody is related to Dorian and Phrygian pieces on the periphery of the Hungarian lament style. The dialect of the tale belongs to the Mashari-Tserhari-Kelderashi groups, most resembling the last.

Collections have revealed that in Hungarian-speaking areas folk tales with songs or rhymes are not as easily assimilated into the Romani repertoire as purely prose stories. Either the whole tale is told in the language of the host people or it is narrated in Gypsy with the song insertions in the original language. Again in other cases the inserts may be in Romani but, the tunes to them having been lost, they are recited in prose. That lends special appeal to tales in which the music inserts have also been adapted to Romani, since one may expect to get specifically Gypsy versions diverging from the tales of the host people.[1]

This short paper attempts an analysis of a Transylvanian Vlach Gypsy tale with songs in terms of ethnography, ethnomusicology and linguistics. This approach is required by the almost complete lack of

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literature about the intellectual culture and dialects of Transylvanian Vlach Gypsies. The authors were faced with the tasks of analyzing the text in terms of form and content and at the same time of examining its dialectal traits. Though short and having a closed structure, the tale affords the opportunity of examining the musical and prose processes of creation and reproduction parallel with one another, whereas normally they are handled separately by ethnography and folk music research. The tools the informant uses to bring the tale closer to his public, how he "Gypsifies" it, can also be observed. The tale was analyzed from the aspects of ethnography and ethnomusicology by Katalin Kovalcsik, with a scientific analysis of the tale's language by Endre Tálos.

Ethnographic Characteristics

"Eržike's Tale" (La Eržikęki Paramìči) belongs to the "Little Maple-Tree" type (Aarne-Thompson type 780) known all over Europe.[2] The king is to favor (e.g. by giving her a throne) the one of his three daughters who performs his request most perfectly (e.g. gathers the most strawberries in her basket). The two lazy and wicked sisters kill the youngest and take home the strawberries. A maple tree grows on the girl's grave. Passing by, a shepherd makes a flute out of its branch. The flute speaks in a human voice and exposes the murderers.

In this Gypsy version the "maple-tree" type is peculiarly mixed with elements of the "Cinderella" type tales (AaTh 510 B). The king plans to go to town and asks his daughters what they would like as a present. The two older ones want candy and flowers, and the youngest asks for anything her father might find on the way. She gets a willow shoot which she plants in her garden.

Then the three girls go out to pick strawberries. The hardest-working girl is to get a fine dress. The "Cinderella" tale must have been the source for this motif, too, since in it the orphan gets nice clothes through a willow tree planted on her mother's grave and, dressed in these clothes, she conquers the heart of the prince. In the rest of the tale the events follow in the regular order: the sisters kill the youngest one and bury her in the wagon wheel rut. The shepherd hears the story of the murder when he arrives at the dead girl's willow tree. It is an interesting detail that here the tree itself sings, not the flute.[3] The shepherd tells the king the story, who punishes the wicked girls when he has checked on the truth.

The tale was told with laconic brevity by a young man of 19. He made no effort to be specially eloquent or expressive, but he was careful to preserve the main structural elements, that is, starting the tale with a humorous formula and finishing it with the respectful closing phrase also typical among Vlach Gypsies and with a self-introduction. Several reasons may account for the shortness of the tale. First, the story-teller was very young and his audience also consisted of young people around his age. That means that no older or respectable person was in the company, so there was no control to influence him, no "expectation" to live up to. Secondly, it is still a living custom in Vlach Gypsy communities that, as Olga Nagy, the Transylvanian folk tale researcher put it, "everyone story-tells here" (Nagy, 1978:145). Telling stories is not the privilege of more distinguished or talented persons but a natural outlet for self-expression. In this way less gifted story-tellers can also have their say, and futhermore they are even expected to take part in entertaining the others.

The ratio and importance of loan words in the tale suggest Hungarian, and not Romanian, connections. The protagonist is called Eržike (Hung. 'Erzsike', diminutive of Erzsébet, 'Elizabeth,' i.e. 'Bessy'); she goes "epre-szedni" (to pick strawberries); hearing the song, everyone's mouth "tátva asilja" (fell open) "abba a helybe" (on the spot), and so forth. Nevertheless, the text of the interpolated song is not very similar to the Hungarian variants whose most common verse is:

Fujjad, fujjad, juhászlegény	Blow it, blow it, shepherd.
(király apám, etc.)	(my royal father, etc.)
Én is voltam király lánya,	I was a king's daughter too,
Királylányból jávorfácska,	From princess a maple-tree,
Jávorfából furulyácska.	From maple-tree a flute.

Instead, it has kinship with a rarer type in which the flute tells the story of the murder, e.g.:

Eperszedöük megöléinek,	Strawberry pickers killed me
Kerékvágásba tevéinek	Put me in the wheel rut.
Onnan lettem iharfája	There I became a maple-tree
Szeginy ember muzsikája.	Flute for a poor man.

(Kovács, 1943. vol.VI, no.70, 79-80; Paál, 1877; as a ballad: Vargyas, 1978. no.94 "A három eprészö lány" [Three girls picking strawberries]).

In the Vlach Gypsy variants the epic elements merge with motifs familiar from slow, lyrical songs. The apostrophe the tree's singing begins with: "Ašuneh tu, (mïīro bačo)" — Hey, you there, (shepherd) — is a frequent formula to begin dialogues in Gypsy folk tales, but it also appears in epic songs (Csenki and Csenki 1980, nos. 2 and 4). The opening formula: "Ušti, ušti, mïīro dadu,/Na maj so, ke na maj so" — Get up, get up, father / Do not sleep now, don't sleep — is common in dirges and slow lyrical songs. A constant motif of the latter is: "T akana so te kerav*u*?/Musaj mange te merav*u*" — What can I do? /I must die — which is used here by the youngest girl to impress her parents.

One cannot help raising the question of improvisation at this point. As at present no other version is known with inserted songs, it cannot be decided how much of the lyrics is due to the performer's invention. It is well known that Gypsy songs are subject to extended variations. Thus, it is justified to assume that in part the ones here are individual variants, too. It facilitates improvisation that the number of syllables can be increased or decreased. In our case, the basic 8-syllable lines alternate with lines of five, six, seven and even ten syllables, while rhyming is ensured by the additional line-ending nonsense syllables (-re, -ju, etc.) also known from Romanian folklore.

In the three inserts the story-teller describes Eržike's relationship to various persons. The shepherd is neutral, a person to be used as a messenger. Eržike sings the longest and most emotional song to her father, and a shorter song to her mother. Apparently, the performer only slackened the closed structure of the tale in the musical inserts. He did so by emphasizing the family's most authoritative person with greatest competence in decision-making, the father, and by using lyrical textual elements. He was less successful in moments of prosaic improvisation (e.g. giving the two sisters typical "Gypsy names," Frunza and Brae).

Musical Characteristics

The three songs have a common tune (*example 1a-c*). Minor, microstructural changes are chiefly determined by the length of the

text (decrease or increase of tone repetitions). Probably the emotional overcharge of the words ("Do not sleep now, don't sleep") in line four of the second song accounts for the changed note (*d* raised to *e*), resulting in a heaving melodic line. The informant also uses this musical tool at some points of the prose part.[4]

In the Gypsy folk music material only a single direct variant of the octosyllabic Phrygian melody is known so far. It is a song insert in another Transylvanian Vlach Gypsy tale.[5] Its structure is descending after a high start, moving from g_2 downward to the tonal range known from our version (*example 2*).

Close kin of this tune can be found in both variants (starting in the high and middle registers) in the Hungarian material. They are on the periphery of the Hungarian lamenting style (Dobszay-Szendrei 1988, vol.1) in Dorian or Phrygian key (*examples 3a-d*). Though few in number, their proveniences are widely scattered over the Hungarian-speaking territory, with the most data coming from Moldavia (Dobszay-Szendrei 1988: 273-274). As the Gypsy examples are closer to hexasyllabic tunes, they seem to be syllabic variations. But, as has been seen, the number of syllables is not rigidly fixed in the slow songs of Transylvanian Vlach Gypsies. This style of performance is alien everywhere in Hungarian and Romanian folk music (Bartók 1967:21) except for free-structured dirges.

In the hexasyllabic Hungarian versions couplets of lines are created (Dobszay-Szendrei 1988: 274). In the slow songs of the Vlach Gypsies both in Hungarian and Romanian-speaking areas this impression of periodization by two lines is common in hexa- and octosyllabic tunes, irrespective of the style of performance. In Hungarian versions the third lines repeat the first lower or in a narrower range. It is specific to the Gypsy examples that the third line repeats the "stagnant" second a second lower. Compared to the fixed structure of the first Gypsy tune, the second presents a more "alive" form of the type with motions in several directions. In Transylvanian Vlach Gypsy folksongs the former alternative of form stabilized almost note for note is less frequent.

The Language of the Tale

The stock of sounds of the dialect

	A)	B)	C)	D)	E)	F)	G)	H)
a)	ph	th			*ćh		kh	
b)	p	t	c	tj	ć		k	
c)	b	d		dj	ʒ́		g	
d)	f		s		ś	š	x	h
e)	v		z		ź	ž		
f)	m	n		nj				
g)		l	r	lj			r̄	
h)	u			j				

	I)	K)	L)
h)	i	ï	u
i)	(i̯)		
j)	ẹ	(ẹ̈)	(ọ)
k)	e	ë	o
l)	ę	a	ǫ

Remarks

1. In compliance with the traditions of transcription, *ć* is symbolized by *č*.

2. *r̄* is a uvularized strong tremulant (for a description see Tálos 1988:192). In the weak form of the pronoun *mïr̄o* there is a ɣ-like semi-consonant without rolling.

3. *v* is realized as *u̯* at the end of words.

4. In words of Romanian origin *ï* and *ë* are retained; in Gypsy words *š*, *ž*, (*c, s, z*), *r̄* and *x* velarize the following **i* and **e*; *e* after *kh*, *k* and *g* may also become velarized (+Kelderashi, +Mashari, +Tserhari).

5. **i* > *ï* is not rounded to *u* next to a labial consonant (**mir̄o* > *mïr̄o* instead of > **mur̄o*. (+Keld.)

6. The initial **ki* and **gi* result in *ći* and *ʒ́i*, resp. (? **ćhi* from **khi*: *ćindàh* < *kindàs*, *ʒ́ilabel* < *gilabel* (+Keld., +Tserh., -Mash.?).

7. The initial anaptyctic before a nasal+consonant is *ï* as in Romanian and not **a* as in Kelderashi. (-Keld.)

8. After palatal consonants (=Cj clusters) **a* may become palatalized to *ę*, e.g. *raklę̀* 'girls', instead of **raklja* (+Mash.)

9. There is word-ending spiratization in the dialect: *lah* 'bought' < **las*, and *làha* 'idem' < *làsas*; it is missing from the recoverable forms, e.g. *mas* 'meat' (not **mah*).

10. The text includes interesting rotacized forms. These are *kòrn(j)ica* 'basket' instead of the expected **kožnica* or *košnica* (cf. Rom. *coşniţă* 'idem'), and *vërš* 'forest' in place of **veš*. Such forms occur rarely and sporadically in other dialects as well, requiring a separate analysis. Typological analogies of this change can be found in Hill Cheremis.

Morphological Characteristics

The indefinite article takes the form *ek* before voiceless consonants, otherwise it is *eg* (i.e. before sonorants, vowels and voiced consonants).

The definite article deviates from typical Vlach Gypsy at one point: the NomPlur form is *o* (instead of **le*, **ël*, **ol*). The rest is regular:

	Masc	Fem	Plur
Nom	*o*	*e*	*o*
Ob	*le*	*a*	*le*

Examples for *o*: *o raklę̀* 'the girls', *o trin phejẽ* 'the three sisters', *o kǫ̀vera* 'the others', *o ę̀pri* 'the strawberries'.

The demonstrative pronouns begins with *k*; the NomFem *koja* is known (instead of *kodi* together with some other short forms.

The Obl. of *duj* 'two' is *do* (archaism).

The personal suffix of perfectum Sgl is *-om* without *j* (+Mash.), and not *-em* like in Kelderashi and Lovari. Accordingly, the Sgl Praes form of 'to be' is *som* (not **sim*).

To sum up, it can be established that the dialect undoubtedly belongs to the Mashari-Tserhari-Kelderashi group, with most features linking it to the latter.

La Eržikęki Paramiči

Nò, r̄omàle the śavàle, astaràh amèng ek paramìči.

Sàhpe so na sàhpe, te n avilòpe, čì na phendòpe, *de cînd* mur̄o pàpo petalo laha le mačèn pe šuštàr kothè. Kërlàha lengi butjì, *haltába.*

Sàhpe eg ïmperàto, the sàh-le trìn raklę̀. Phenel. Barilè o raklę̀, barilè, the ke g vrę̀mę o mpëràto gëlàh ando fòro. The fer sęvè xukl ę̀nde lehki kòr̄, kaj te phenèn, ke: "T ę̀n mangë so nàn!" te: "Tha dè mangë an vara, so nàn!" Te phenèl: "So t ęnàv tumèngë?" Phenel la jekhàkë: "Tuk-anàu̯ ek cùkro." Le kǫvëràhkë phendàh, kë anèl eg luludjì, te la kǫvëràhkē phendàh, kë so rakhë̀la po dròm.

Thę kereh, gëlàh o mpëràto ando fòro, the, kana čindàh le kǫvërèngë làncuri, sakonfę̀lo, trèbi. Thę po dròm rakhlà eg cinì salčiję. The ke sàlčiję ingerdàh-la la rakljàkë khërèj. La cinnà rakljàkë, kolèj màjcinnë rësàh, the kodèj śinlàh *utoljára*, the voj kode phendàh, kë: "Man kode t ęnès, so rakhlàn po drṑm." Thę kothè daha lakë, the voj sò kërdàh? Andrè jiltętisardàh-la andej pèhki bàr. Kan andrè jiltętisardàh andi bàr, barilàha šukàr, kërdjilà.

Th ęg vrę̀mę o mpëràto tradàh le trinè raklę̀n. Jèk biśòlah Frùnza, jèk biśòlah Bràę, thę jèk biśòlah Ę̀ržikę. Thę gëlè o trin phej̄ę̄ te anèn èpri. The gëlè, ę̀pre-*szedni* gëlè. Thę, kana gëlè o kǫ̀vëra duj, e Braę thę e Frùnza, von sar či dena kadè, xànah o èpri. Thę vòj, voj čì xalah ek cinor̄ò, thę pehki kòrnjica jèg-dùj pherdàha-la. Kana pherdàh pehki kòrnjica, voj làhpe t indulisèrah khërë^{n}. Kana indulisèrah khërë^{n}, o kǫ̀vëra, kana dikhlè, kë e Ę̀ržikę gëlì-tar, von aśile pal làte, našlè pala làte, the andrè praxosardè la ande le vurdonèhki njòma. The tele patjardè la. Kakala dùj pherdè pengi kòrnjica: linè-le lakë epri, thę, gëlè khërḕ, ke pengo dàd. Ko kǫštèvo.

The kana gëlè, gëlè, lengo dàd puślàh len, kë kàj e Ę̀ržikę. The phendàh, kë palàl aśilàh, k ë̀nkë voj čì pherdah pehki kòrnjica. The le dòngë làh dùj rupunè r̄ìzï, somnakunį̀ thę jèg rupùnį.

The and eg ratjij ò bàčǫ salįj gurmnję̀nca. The ke sàlčiję, kana rëslàh, kęsëdàh te phùrdel:

Eržike's Tale

Well, Gypsies and boys, let's begin a tale.

Once upon a time, so it was — had it not been so, it wouldn't have been told [for so long], since my grandfather caught the flies in the pail. He put them in their place, in a jiffy.

There was a king and he had three daughters. He says. The girls were growing, and once the king went to town. They fell on his neck at once and said, "Bring me [something] I haven't got yet," and "give me [something] I haven't got yet." He asks, "What shall I bring you?" He says to one, "I'll bring you candy." He says to the other he'd bring her a flower. He says to the third [he'd bring her] what he'd find on the way.

What did the king do? He went to town where he bought necklaces and all sorts of things for the others. He found a willow shoot on the way. He took this willow shoot home for his daughter. For the younger, he got for his youngest daughter [in satisfying her wish], he cut [that willow shoot] off last, for his daughter had told him, "Bring me what you find on the way." He gave it to her, and what did she do? She planted it in her garden. She planted it in her garden and it kept growing nicely.

Once the king sent off his three daughters. One was called Frunza, the other Brae, the third Eržike. And the three sisters left to bring strawberries. They left, to pick strawberries. When they had left, the other two, Brae and Frunza, didn't bother about anything, they ate the strawberries. But she, she didn't eat a single piece, and filled her basket quickly. When her basket was full, she started for home. When she started out, the other two, as they saw Eržike had gone, they were left behind, they ran after her and buried her in the wagon wheel rut. They trod her into the ground. These two filled their baskets, they took her strawberries and went home to their father. To the castle.

When they got home, their father asked them where Eržike was. [One] said she fell behind because she had not filled her basket yet. And [the king] gave the two girls two silver dresses, a golden and a silver one.

And one evening the shepherd was passing by with his herd. And the wiliow tree, when he got there, began to sing: (see *example 1a*)

Ašuneh tu, mïřo bačo,
Ašuneh tu, mïřo bačo,
kë Kala duj čorne*je*,
kë Kala duj čorne

Andre praxosarde ma ande phu,
Andre praxosarde ma ande phu,
The mïře epri line-le,
The mïře epri line-le.

O bàčo kan ašundàh, *abba a helybe* khërè našlàh, the l ïmpëratòhk aǫrì phendah: "Ïmpëratìna, sar te sò gïndìh, kë e sàlka ʒìlabel?! The haj, dik-ta numa, sò ʒilabèl! ʒilàbel pehkị e ʒilì, (tje Ęržikàki) tje Ęržikę̀ki, kaj sàha ę̀prę-*szedni*, the (*és*) e rakljořï čìmaj rakhëdjilah." Thę ọ ïmpëràto, te n avèla, či kodè, phendàh o mpëràto, ke mudarẽn le. O čobàno: "Nọ, hàjdi, kë źàh!" Gëlàh thę pe ratjì kothè śilàh te pëzìl, kë sò ʒilàbel e tìlinka. Bešèl telè paše kòja sàlka, thę, hatjàrel. Ke pàšręt nùma ašunèl, kë phenèl:

Ušti, ušti, mïřo dad*u*,
Ušti, ušti, mïřo dad*u*,
Na maj so, ke na maj so,
Na maj so, ke na maj so,

Kë na e tilinka phurdel,
Kë na e tilinka phurdel,
Kë me phurdaǫ, Eržike,
Kë me phurdaǫ, Eržike.

Ke tje duj kurve rakle,
Ke tje duj kurve rakle,
Andre praxosarde m ande phu,
Andre thode m ande phu,

The mïře epri line-le,
The mïře epri line-le,
T akana so te keraǫ,
T akana so te kerav*u*?!

Hey you there, my shepherd
Hey you there, my shepherd,
These two thieves,
These two thieves

They buried me in the ground,
They buried me in the ground,
And took my strawberries,
And took my strawberries.

When the shepherd heard [the song], he immediately ran home and told the king, "My king, can you imagine a willow tree singing? Come and see for yourself how it sings. It sings a song, that of your Eržike, that she went picking strawberries, and the girl was no longer found." And the king [replied] he wouldn't go, [that wasn't true] at all, he said he'd have [the shepherd] killed. The shepherd: "Come now, let's go." [The king] went and stayed the evening to find out what the flute would sing. He sits by the willow tree and listens. At midnight suddenly he hears what it says (*example 1b*).

Get up, get up, my dear father
Get up, get up, my dear father,
Do not sleep now, don't sleep,
Do not sleep now, don't sleep.

It's not the flute that's singing
It's not the flute that's singing,
I am speaking, Eržike,
I am speaking, Eržike.

For your two wicked daughters
For your two wicked daughters
Buried me in the ground,
Buried me in the ground.

And they took my strawberries,
And they took my strawberries.
What can I do now?
What can I do now?

Musaj mange te merav*u*,
Musaj mange te merav*u*,
de Či kode naštig kërav*u*,
Či kode naštig kërav*u*.

Ò mpëràto kana hatjardàh, *abba a helybe* lehko muj *tátva* aśilàh. The našlàha to khërè, te phenèl pehkë r̄omnję̀kë. Kana ke pehki r̄omnjì gëlàh, la mpërëteàsakë phendàh au̯rì, kë so ji treàba, sakonfę̀lo, kë laki Ę̀ržikę phùrdel, the, voj čì kamèlah te pàtjan. *Abba a helybe* khërè gëlàh, the pe pàšręt vì voj avilàha, laki dęj. The laki̯ dàla hallįlindę. Thę kezdjìl e sàlka te ʒ́ìlabel:

Ušti, ušti, mïri dej*u*,
Ušti, ušti, mïri dej*u*,
Kë na je tilinka phurdel,
Kë na je tilinka phurdel,

Kë me phurdau̯, Eržike,
Kë me phurdau̯, Eržike,
Kë tje duj čorne rakle,
Kë tje duj čorne rakle*ju*

Andre thode m ande phu,
Andre thode m ande phu,
The mïre epri line-le,
The mïre epri line-le.

The akana so kërav*u*,
The akana so kërav*u*?!
Musaj mange te merav*u*,
Musaj mange te merav*u*!

Thę ọ mpëràto *abba a helybe* khërè gëlàh ke ïmpërëteàs. The, le dò raklę̀n xutjildàha-le the phanglàh-le ke le grastèhki̯ pọu̯rì. The, kajso pelàh lengo màs, kërdjilah ke cìkla, the, kajso pèlah (!) lengë bàl, kërdjilàh vë̀rš, kajso pelàh lengo màs, kothè kërdjilàh pajì, the.

Kathar ašundòm-la, vì me phendòm-la, laśè manušë̀ndar hatjardòm-la, the laśèngë phendòm-la.

Me phendòm kade paramìči, la Ę̀ržikę̀ki, me som o Jàni d ęndo Sïndjòrdji.

I must die,
I must die,
There is nothing to do,
There is nothing to do.

When the king grasped it, his mouth fell open. He ran home and told his wife. Then he went up to his wife and told the queen how it was, everything, that his Eržike had played the flute. The queen wouldn't believe it. She went home at once and she came at midnight, her mother. And she heard the song. The willow tree began to sing *(example 1c)*:

Get up, get up, my dear mother,
Get up, get up, my dear mother,
It's not the flute that's singing,
It's not the flute that's singing,

I am speaking, Eržike,
I am speaking, Eržike.
For your two thieving daughters
For your two thieving daughters

Put me into the ground,
Put me into the ground
And took my strawberries,
And took my strawberries.

What can I do now?
What can I do now?
I must die,
I must die.

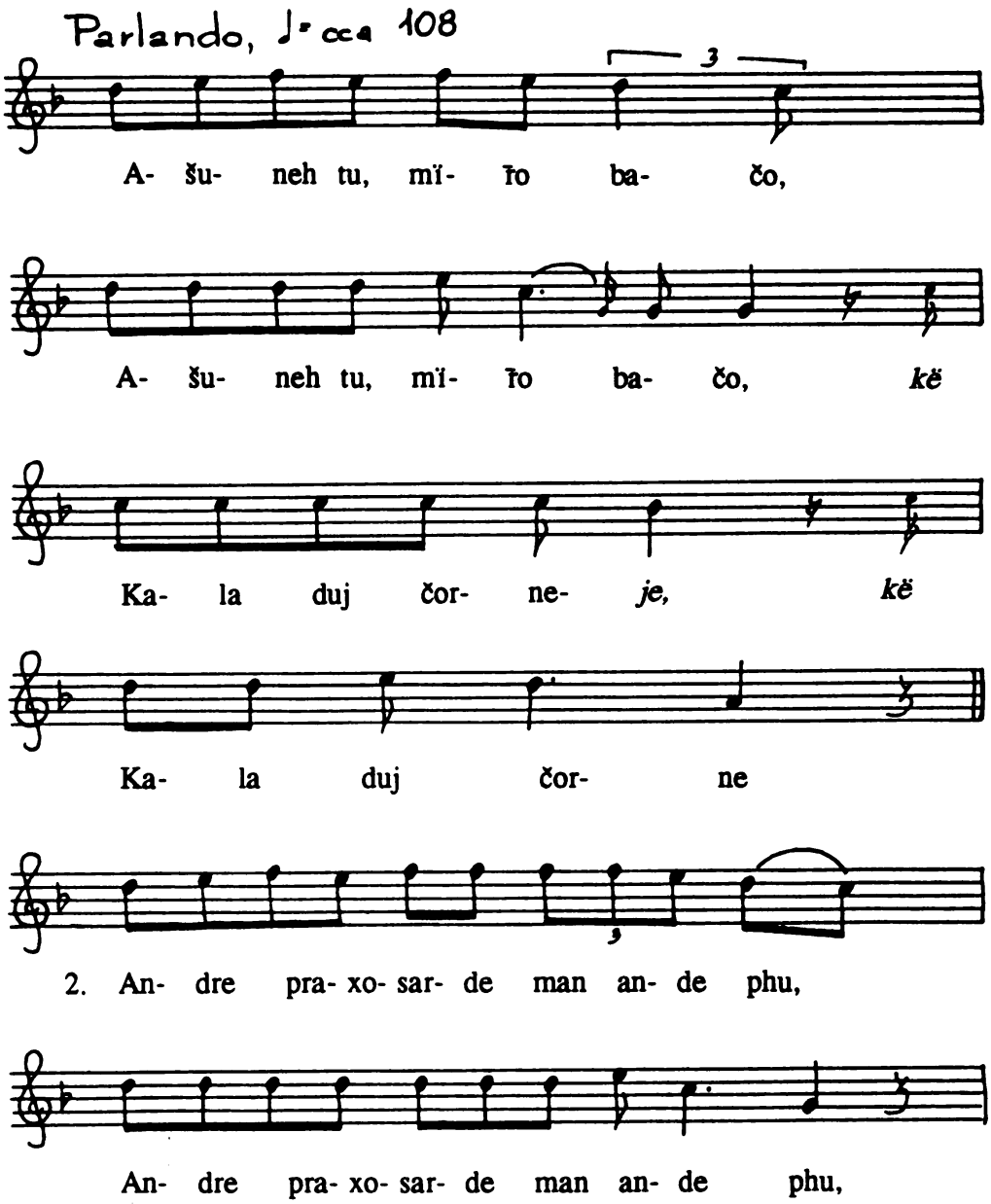
The king went home immediately to the queen. He took the two girls and tied them to the horse's tail. Where their flesh fell, rocks grew, where their hair fell, forests emerged, where their flesh fell, water sprang forth.

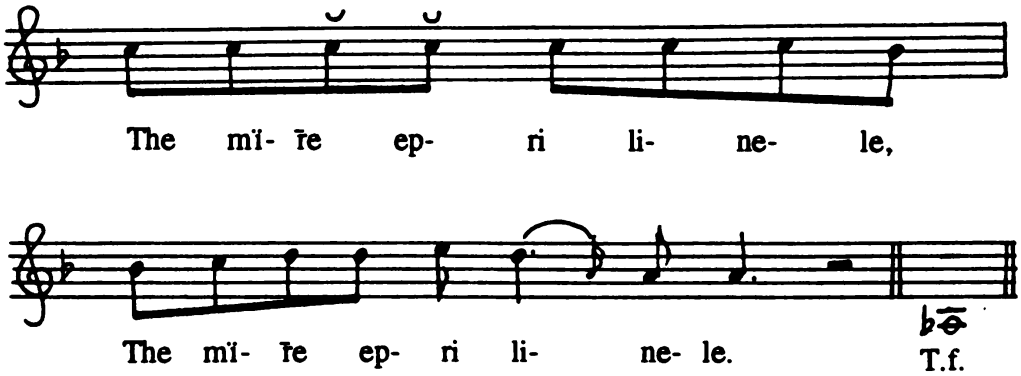
I've told you the way I heard it, I heard it from good people and told it to good people.

I told you the tale, that of Eržike, I'm Jani from Szentgyörgy.

Example 1a

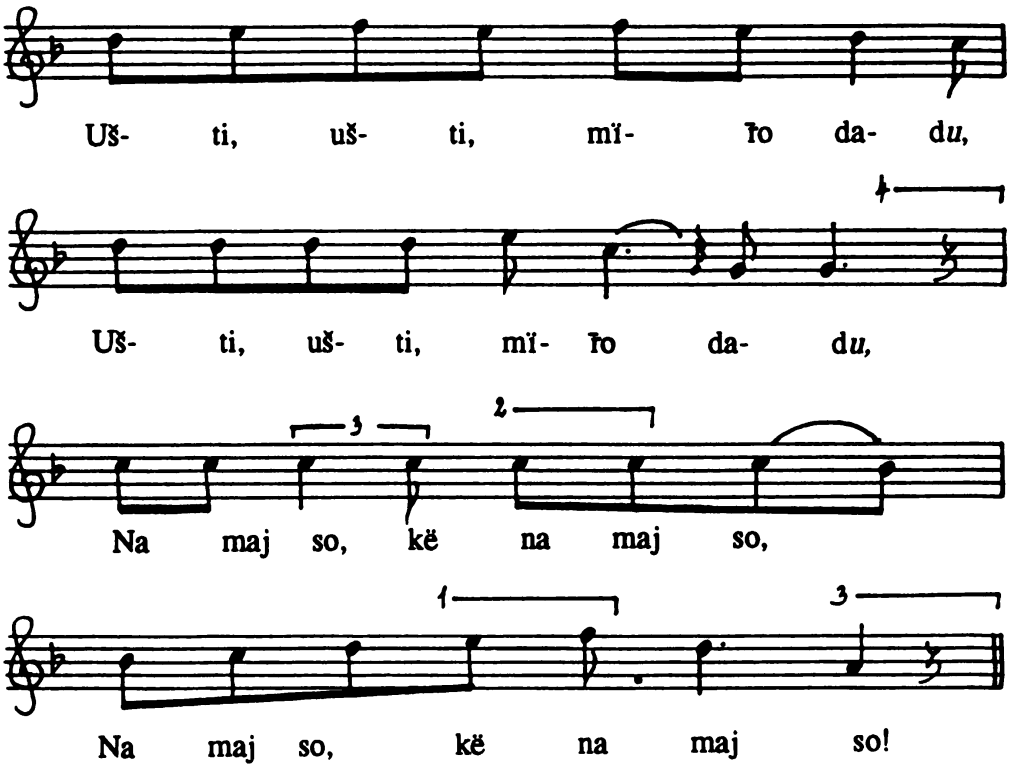
Sîngheorghiu de Mureş (Mureş county, Romania, formerly Marosszentgyörgy, Maros-Torda county, Hungary), János Lakatos, aged 19. Collected by K. Kovalcsik, 1982. Mgt. 4578/B-12 in the archives of the Institute of Musicology, Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

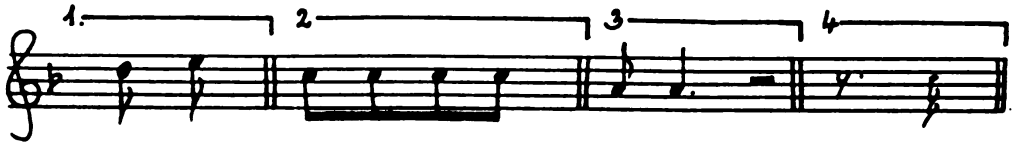




Example 1b

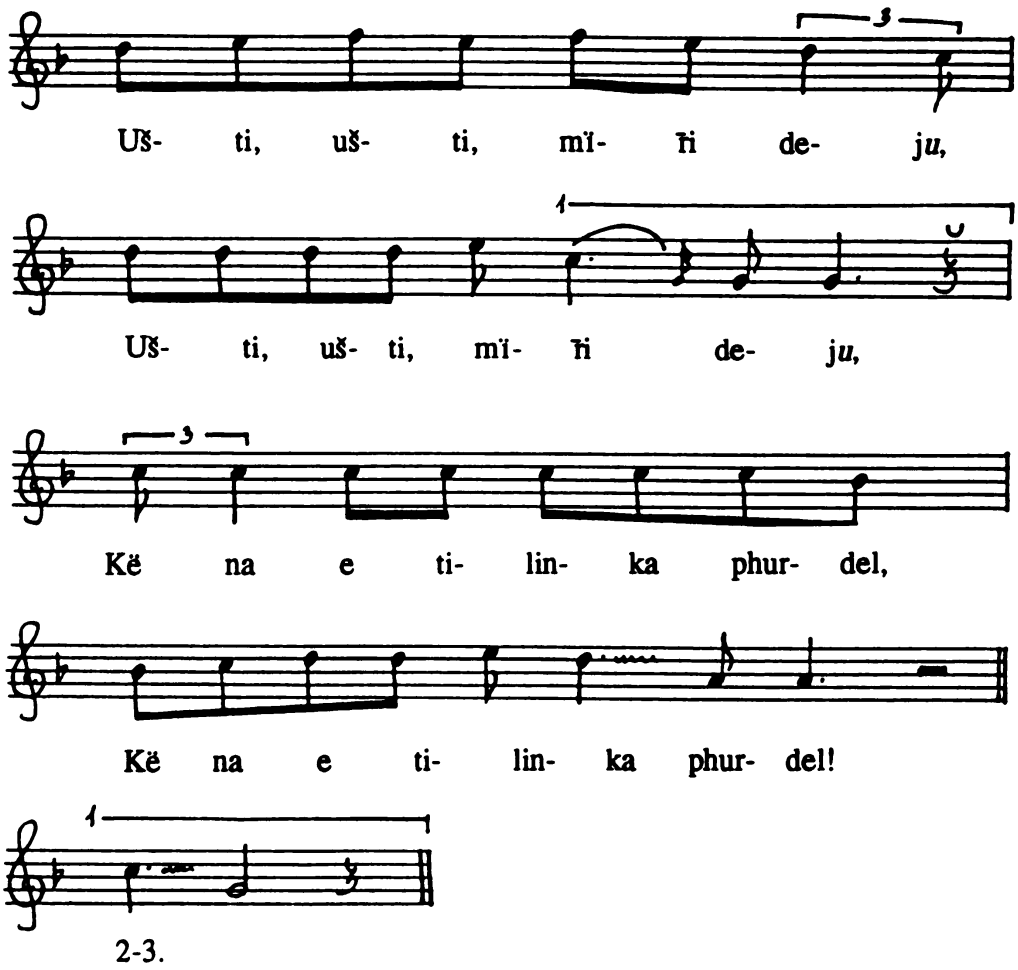
Sîngheorghiu de Mureş (Mureş county, Romania, formerly Marosszentgyörgy, Maros-Torda county, Hungary), János Lakatos, aged 19. See example 1a.





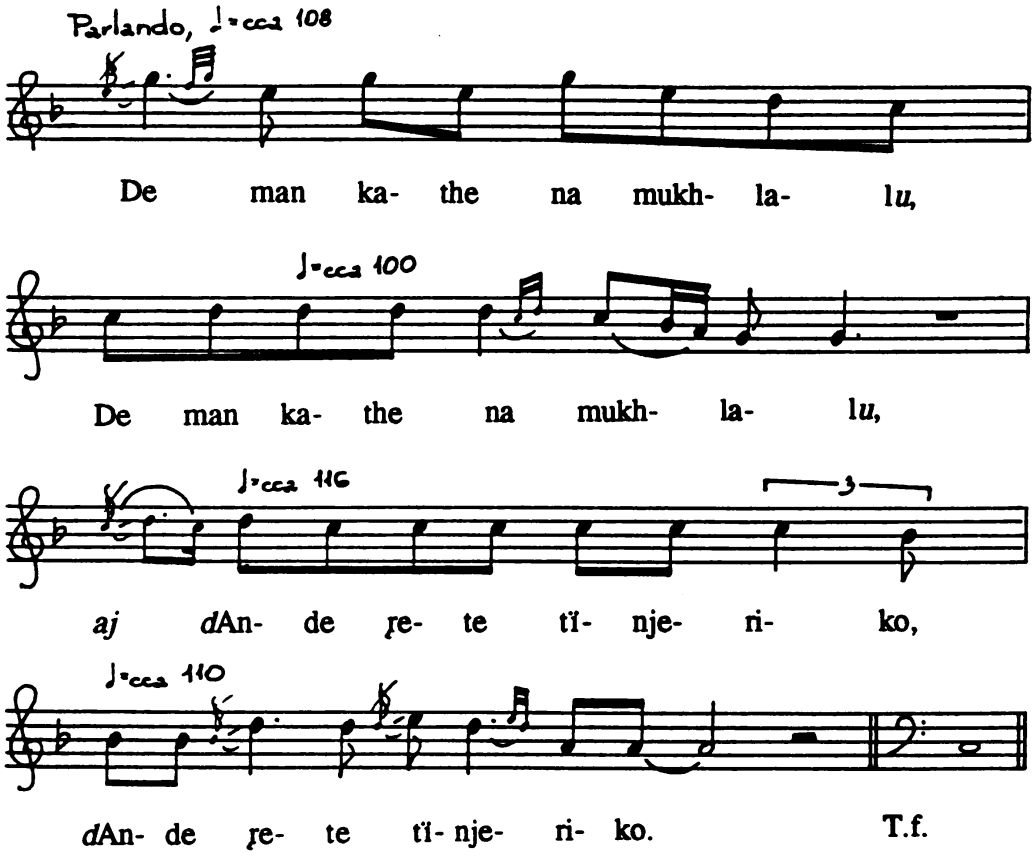
Example 1c

Sîngheorghiu de Mureş (Mureş county, Romania, formerly Marosszentgyörgy, Maros-Torda county, Hungary), János Lakatos, aged 19. See example 1a.

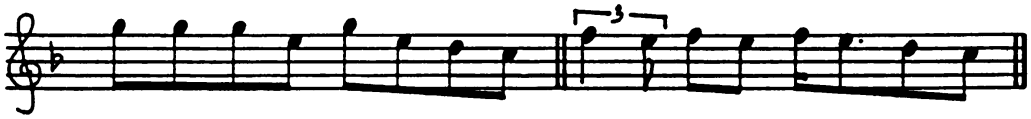


Example 2

Huedin (Cluj county, Romania, formerly Bánffyhunyad, Kolozs county, Hungary), Mihály Gábor, aged 45. Collected by K. Kovalcsik, 1983. Mgt. 4643/B-6.

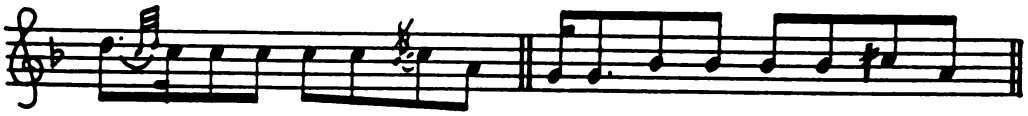


Variations:



1st line

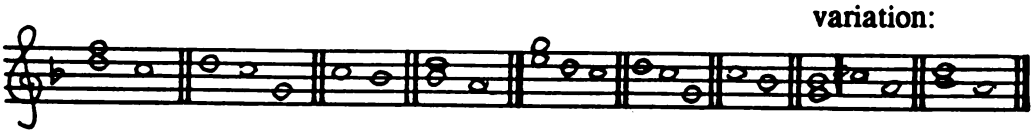
2nd line



3rd line

The models of the melodies:

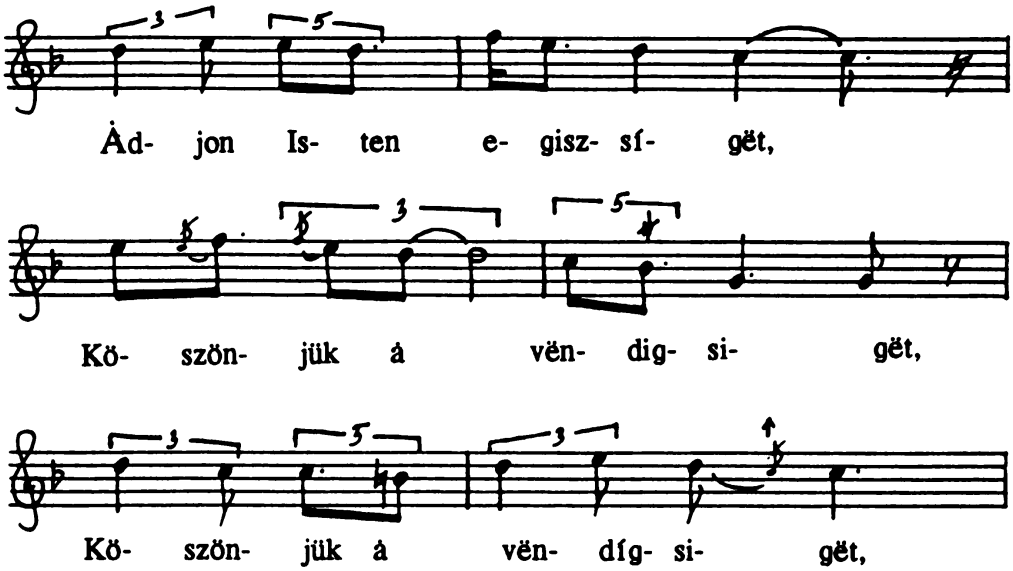
variation:

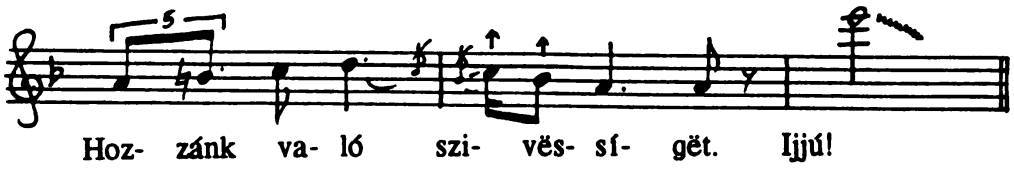


Example 1a-c Example 2

Example 3a

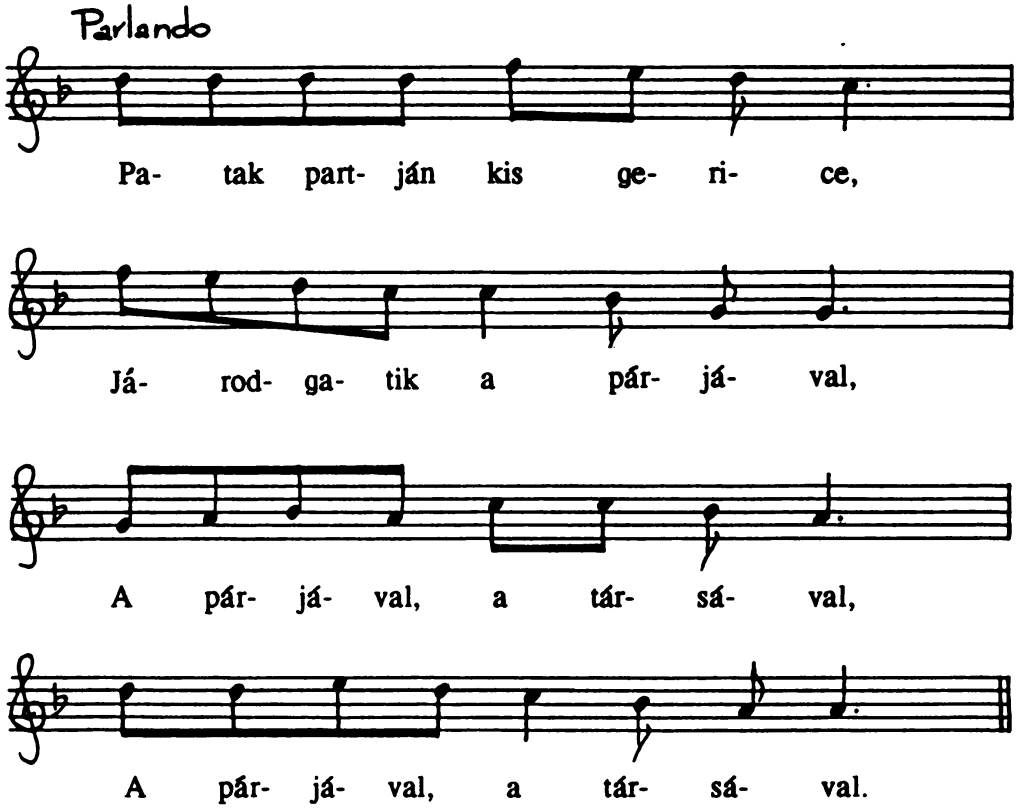
Mechenice (Nyitra district, Czechoslovakia, formerly Menyhe, Nyitra county, Hungary), Mrs. Ilona Máténé Gáll. Collected by J. Manga, 1938. *In* Dobszay and Szendrei 1988, I/A:11-12a





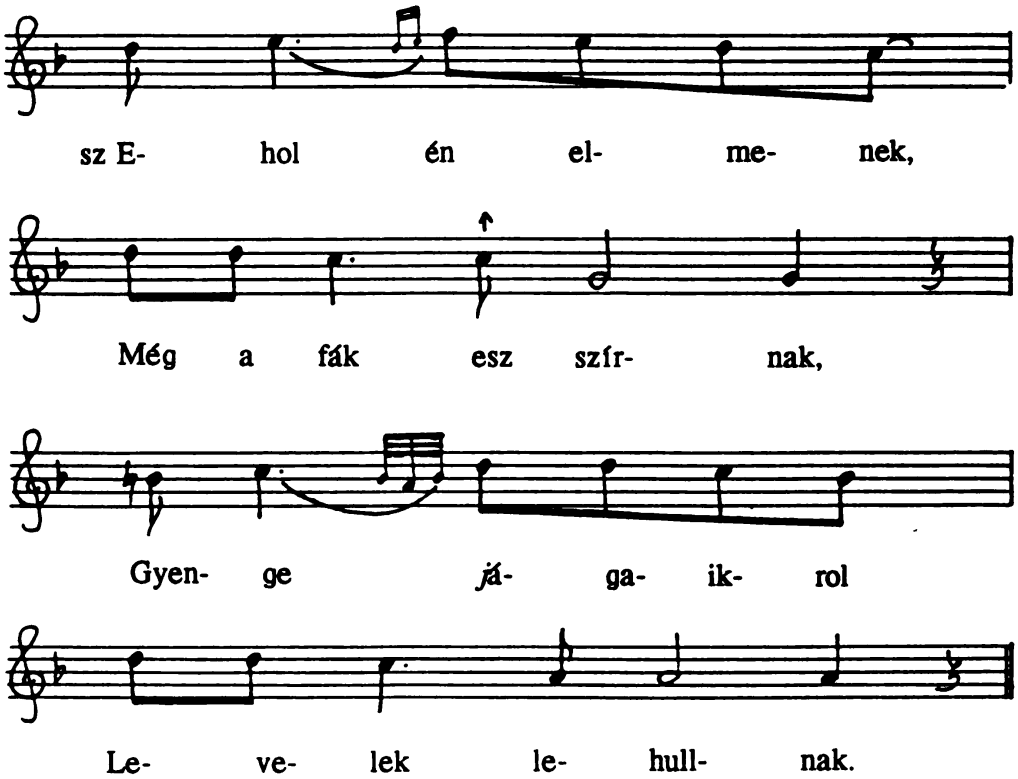
Example 3b

Găiceana (Bacau county, Moldavia, Romania; Hungarian name: Gajcsána, Bákó county). Recorded at Egyházaskozár (Baranya county, Hungary), József Janku. Collected by L. Hegedüs, 1951. *In* Dobszay and Szendrei 1988, I/A:11-12b.



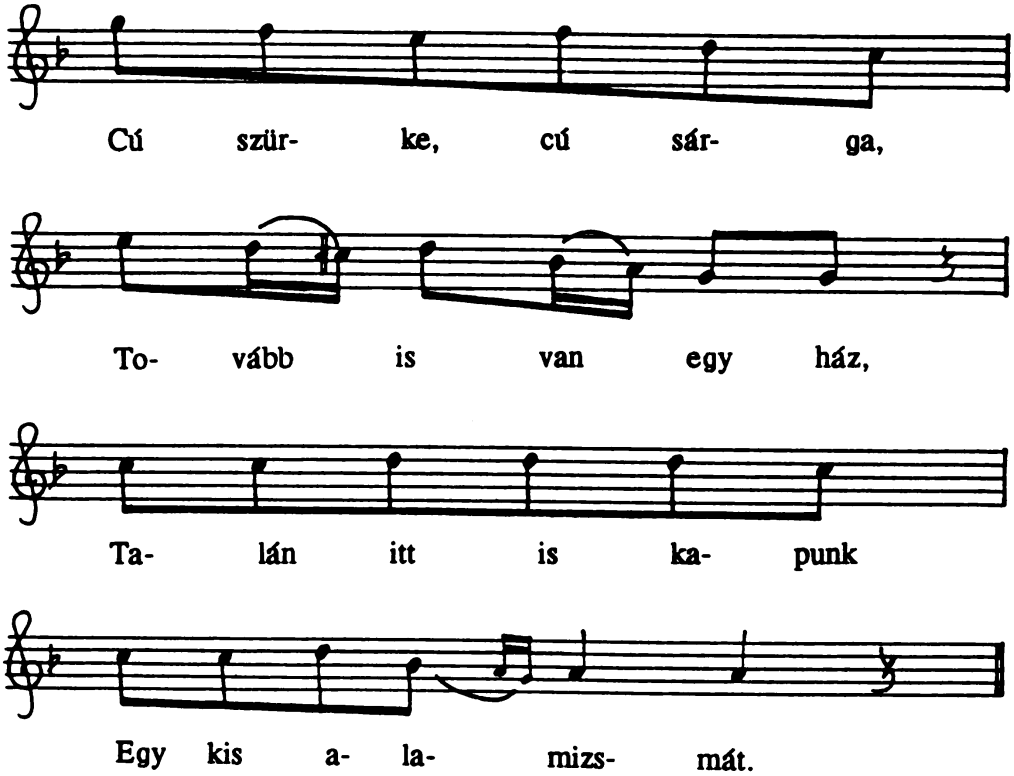
Example 3c

Cleja (Bacau county, Moldavia, Romania; Klézse in Hungarian, Bákó county), Erzse Hodorog, aged about 48. Collected by Z. Kallós, 1965. Transcribed by M. Domokos. AP 7178/f. *In* Dobszay and Szendrei 1988, I/A:13a.



Example 3d

Örtilos-Szentmihályhegy (Somogy county, Hungary), Mrs. Szidonia Kálmánné Sablyák Nagy, aged 73. Collected by E. Eperjessy, 1959. Transcribed by F. Horváth AP 4539/g. *In* Dobszay and Szendrei 1988, I/A:13b.



Notes

Acknowledgments. A version of this paper was previously published in Hungarian (Kovalcsik and Tálos 1989).

[1]For tales with song inserts in Romani see Vekerdi 1985, no.18, from Hungary and Bari 1990, no.23, from Transylvania.

[2]The number of the tale's type is given according to the international catalogue of types (Aarne and Thompson 1961). For a presentation of the international family of this type, see Solymossy 1920. The cante fables of Scandinavia are also tales with interpolated song elements. Since the cante fable is not typical of central Europe, and since the present tale in its prose form appears to derive from western Slavic areas, that genre designation is inappropriate.

[3]The Hungarian word *tilinko* 'flute' appears in the songs, but in the prose text it is clear that the tree sings since it only sings in its spot at midnight.

[4]The young man recited the tale in an unusual, strange sing-song. The first syllable of a unit was stressed, then he raised his voice and lowered at the end. At one point his narration could be transcribed, stepping down to a minor third at the end of the sentence. As this manner of performance is not consistent throughout, it is not indicated in the text. As far as I know, only little children tell stories in this way. For its occurrence among Gypsies see Réger 1987:56.

[5]That tale is one of of improvisations, impossible to categorize. It is beyond the scope of this paper to enlarge upon it in detail.

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Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society 5, Vol 1, No. 2 (1991)

Gypsy Music in Yugoslavia: Inside the Popular Culture Tradition

Ljerka Vidić Rasmussen

The notion of Gypsy music in Yugoslavia evokes a spectrum of perceptions from a unique local music tradition of Rom Gypsies to ethnic genre commodified within the popular culture. This paper examines the commercial background of music bearing the Gypsy identity within mainstream music, the so–called "newly-composed folk music." The intent is to show first, that Gypsy music is presented through interplay of diverse local musical sources and generalized Gypsy music style, and second, that the notion of Gypsy music is constructed by the aesthetic and economic choices of both Gypsy and non–Gypsy musicians participating in the mainstream. By using data from interviews with popular Rom Gypsy singers, I illustrate how Gypsy music both influences and defines itself in response to dominant trends in Yugoslav popular music.

Over the last decade in Yugoslavia there has been a proliferation of artistic genres in media such as film, theater, and television inspired by Gypsy themes. In this process the expressive forms symbolizing origin in the culture of Yugoslav Rom have become popular culture statements, producing for the popular audience the elusive concept of a Gypsy sensibility. The broadest appeal of this phenomenon has been the music associated with Rom subculture.

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The term Gypsy music, interchangeable with the term Rom music, refers to several regional musical traditions which are to varying degrees shared with local non–Rom communities. As a commercial label, however, the term is applied indiscriminately to a syncretic repertoire by Rom and non–Gypsies unified by the quest for promotion of ethnically appealing music.

This paper sketches out the repertoires falling into the category of Gypsy music within the context of Yugoslav's popular music, the so-called *novokomponovana narodna muzika* ('newly–composed folk music'), its most dominant genre. By describing the variant meanings and functions that Gypsy music assumes in a commercial environment, I will discuss the process of "negotiation" in an expression of the Rom identity. I argue that this process is characterized by the exchange of common musical resources across ethnic/regional lines rather than by the simple appropriation of Gypsy themes by the popular music industry.

The information on the careers of individual musicians analyzed here is drawn from interviews conducted in Serbo-Croatian in 1987 and 1989 with Rom singers Šaban Bajramović and Sulejman Ramadan-Ramče, respectively. Additional data were provided by music producers and representatives of Yugoslav radio stations and record companies during my fieldwork in Yugoslavia in 1989. The musicians interviewed identify themselves as (Romani-speaking) Rom. Because both Rom and non-Rom frequently use the terms Rom and *Cigani* (Gypsies) synonymously, I use both terms throughout the paper. Finally, I refer to a generalized notion of Gypsy music as a broad musical category and esthetic concept which goes beyond describing the localized music of the Rom.

The Setting: Newly–Composed Folk Music

There is no unified definition of newly–composed folk music; it is variously referred to as a genre, a style, and a musical system. In its broadest terms, this music is a commercial embodiment of a variety of musical traditions found in Yugoslavia. Patterns of regionalism as exemplified by Serbian, Bosnian, and Macedonian music, distinctive local musical idioms like oriental and *šumadijski* (a derivation of a fast-paced Serbian dance), features of other musical cultures such as Turkish, Greek, and Hungarian, and characteristics of European pop music are all reflected to varying degrees in this music.

Since its formative period in the 1960s, newly–composed folk music has absorbed and, in turn, influenced local folk music, including the music of Rom. Subsequently the genre has developed into a complex musical system with an ever–expanding market. In this process stylistic, regional, and ethnic elements have intersected, giving newly-composed folk music a unified national identity.

A number of Yugoslav musicologists have claimed that the commercialization of Yugoslav local music has turned it into a commodity, thus revealing economic and ideological motives behind its folk–like appeal (Kos 1972; Rihtman-Auguštin 1978). Andrijana Gojković, for instance, articulates this view by introducing the notion of "newly–composed *Gypsy* music" which she sees as "an imitation of traditional folk [Gypsy] music...normally lacking in sincerity and quality of its models" (1985:145).

Any attempt to define Gypsy music in a larger, popular music context must take into account several variables beyond the Gypsy/non-Gypsy distinction. Besides the interethnic boundaries, one also sees the ethnic–regional, regional–national, and national–foreign junctures on the folk/popular music continuum. A case in point is the "orientalization" of Yugoslav music that, since its inception in 1985, has coincided with the formulation of Gypsy music as a commercial genre.

This musical current, which has reinforced the East/West opposition, illustrates a more general pattern of Eastern (Turkish, Middle Eastern) and Western (Euro–American) spheres of influence on music in Yugoslavia. What initially appeared to be a prevailing tendency of local musicians toward a new, potentially commercial musical source, has become the subject of contention between the cultural establishment and the music industry. The unwillingness of radio music policy makers to broadcast overtly oriental music focuses on the controversy over heavy, often blatant, borrowing by local composers from Turkish music and its packaging by record companies as a locally–derived musical idiom.

Furthermore, the oriental style is an excellent example of the relationship between identity and its symbolic expression in music. Traditionally the notion of oriental music has been associated with the richly ornamented performance style found in Muslim urban communities in Bosnia–Hercegovina and Macedonia. Subsequently, it permeated a large body of commercially–produced music, going beyond its local setting. More recently, the label oriental has become a catchword in the music industry referring to a syncretic repertoire

drawing on musical practices within a large area of Macedonia and Turkey with Skopje and Istanbul as its axis. As will be discussed later, oriental has also become the main point of reference used by Rom musicians in defining the ethnic identity of their music.

The remainder of this paper will discuss the Gypsy repertoire within two musical settings which will be provisionally defined as local (Serbian and Macedonian) and international (pan–Gypsy). The examples of individual musicians will illustrate overlapping and differing approaches to the representation of the Gypsy identity in music.

Toward Defining Gypsy Music: Serbian and Oriental Sources

The emergence of Gypsy music within the framework of newly-composed folk music followed the general pattern of commercial adaptation of Yugoslav folk music. The increase in popularity of the Gypsy musical idiom was greatly facilitated by the mass media; however, it was the result even more so of the vital local music scene of Rom. This includes their ongoing, dynamic interaction with non–Gypsy musicians, especially in urban and professional performance contexts. From this perspective, much of the Rom music was brought "naturally" from its locale into the popular music market. However, beyond this general process of the incorporation of local music into the mainstream, Rom ethnicity clearly made an imprint on both the overall popular music production and the image and audience reception of Gypsy music. In this process two parallel developments can be observed.

On the one hand, the popular music industry, which operates on selective exploitation of regional musical traditions, has canonized particular musical styles as the most appealing sound *material,* for example, Macedonian music. On the other hand, in order for Rom music to actually become a formative part of the popular music system, rather than merely being its stylistic impetus, a leading *personality* of Rom identity was needed. In the early 1980s Šaban Bajramović became that personality when he emerged as the most prominent Rom singer in the country. There is a recognition shared by Rom musicians, the music industry, and the general audience that Bajramović created a space for Rom singers in Yugoslav popular music.

Bajramović was perceived by his audience as a bardic figure personifying the quintessential Gypsy image. He helped to create this implicitly positive image, for instance, by continuing to reside in his

Rom neighborhood in the northern Serbian city of Niš, away from Beograd, the center of the music industry. His commitment to the Rom community was also demonstrated by his participation in various programs representing the culture of Yugoslav Rom as well as appearances at domestic scenes such as Gypsy weddings in Italy. The audience's impression of his disregard of popular media and press publicity only complemented the image of his individualism and nonconformity. Sulejman Ramadan, himself a successful Rom singer from Sarajevo, articulates the view of the Rom community when he refers to Bajramović as a "legendary" figure. From a broader perspective, this view implicitly recognizes Bajramović as a paradigm for Rom involvement in Yugoslav popular culture. In addition, his commercial success further suggests that the breakthrough of Gypsy popular music began with the personification of Rom ethnicity within the existing parameters of star status.

Bajramović's recording career is characterized by the eclecticism of his musical interests, ranging from Hungarian to brass band to oriental musical idioms. These musical sources, which are associated in varying degrees with Rom performers, make up the network of musical practices found in Serbia. To the extent to which regional differences underlie stylistic heterogeneity of Yugoslav music, Bajramović fits the category of the "Serbian stream" of Rom music. However, beyond geographically pinning down his stylistic profile, it is the uniqueness of his singing style that sets him apart from the majority of singers. His latest albums, for instance, which are influenced by up–to–date reworkings of the oriental idiom, exhibit nuances in the treatment of its ubiquitous features such as heavily ornamented formulae which singers build into the main melody. The oriental mannerisms in his renditions are not applied in an orthodox fashion, but rather are suggested so as to serve structural, and not merely decorative, purposes.

The turning point in Bajramović's career was the release in 1980 of an album bearing his name that brought him instant national recognition. This project was both a strong statement about his Rom identity and an apparent attempt to symbolically negotiate the Gypsy ethnicity within the highly differentiated context of the popular music market. It established a pattern that identified the creation of his repertoire, personality, and audience reception, and would later be adapted by many Rom singers.

One item from this album, the song "Đelem, đelem," best illustrates how the interethnic junctures work in popular music.

Before Bajramović recorded the song it had reached a limited Yugoslav audience through the local channels of live performances in cafes and restaurants. The most notable reworking of this song had been done by television entertainer Olivera Katarina, a singer-actress whose alleged Gypsy identity was played up by the popular press and media. After Bajramović recorded this song for RTV Ljubljana, a prestigious record company in geographically and culturally remote Slovenia, it was elevated to the status of a Rom anthem. The aura of the three–minute song, derived in part from Bajramović's subdued mastery of improvisation reminiscent of Spanish–oriental stylistic amalgam, contrasted with the refined "salon" piano accompaniment by a studio musician typical of the early urban tradition of Yugoslav popular song, the *starogradske pjesme,* 'old–town songs'. It is worth noting that, in Bajramović's performance, the tune's identity appears even more accentuated, despite its markedly syncretic texture and a new instrumental setting. The musical arrangement of "Đelem, đelem," symbolizing a blend of seemingly disparate traditions, has appealed to a diverse audience, pop and folk music, Gypsy and non–Gypsy, all acclaiming Bajramović as an ingenious figure of the Yugoslav music scene.

The song's popularity was stimulated by the interaction of two seemingly contradictory factors: its ethnic exclusivity—a traditional song symbolizing the Gypsy culture—and its mainstream pop value–the ease with which Bajramovic's performance functioned in the pop song setting. As a corollary of the albums's commercial success, Bajramović was established as a "Gypsy King," a familiar metaphor he once used for promotional purposes, according to Sulejman Ramadan.

Bajramović's role in the creation of a Rom music market can be summarized by two key factors: his stylistic versatility as a composer and performer and, perhaps more importantly, his methods of articulating a Rom Gypsy identity through this versatility. Finally, his firm commitment to singing in Romani further authenticated Gypsy music's breakthrough into popular music.

Musicologists' enduring concern to isolate particular ethnic features of music performed by Gypsies becomes, from this perspective, an even more problematic enterprise. That "undetectable quality of interpretation" (Gojković 1977:48) with which Gypsy musicians are customarily credited, implies emotional effects of performance rather than some formal, tangible musical component. Convenient categories such as Gypsy "style" or "way of performing" only per-

petuate the fixation with expressive, that is, spontaneous, Gypsies, at the expense of the creative, that is, analytical, aspects of their musicianship. In the former sense, Šaban Bajramović is rightfully praised both by specialists and popular audiences for his unpretentious emotionalism. However, a more complete evaluation of his work should recognize Bajramović, first of all, as a stylist capable of producing a coherent repertoire out of diverse sources. In other words, his artistic appeal is shaped by the idiosyncrasies of his performance rather than by his personification of some collectively generated Gypsy musical genius.

Both Bajramović's popularity during the early 1980s and the unprecedented impact of newly–composed folk music on Yugoslav's music market a few years earlier provided the context for the larger participatory role of Rom singers in Yugoslav music. Those singers' stylistic orientations, adaptability to changing patterns of popular Yugoslav music, and marketing strategies have not only helped shape Gypsy music, but also have legitimized it in the culture at large.

Here, the notions of "adaptability" and "strategy" do not suggest Gypsy inherent patterns of behavior. Marketing strategies are embedded in the very definition of popular music. Economic motives, integrated into the music production process, function to transcend as much as to underscore the internal class, ethnic, and regional distinctions. In other words, musicians seek eclecticism; it underlies their aim to communicate to a wide audience, hence, their marketing strategies assume the meaning of their aesthetic choices articulated through "style." Different effects of these choices, however, call for the analysis of their symbolic meanings expressed in particular stylistic orientations of musicians (Slobin 1984:35).

Sulejman Ramadan's career illustrates this point further. Ramadan, another singer whose work helped to define the Gypsy music genre, belongs to a group of Rom singers who established themselves as proponents of a distinctively regional music idiom, namely Macedonian music and its oriental extension. Even though his recording output does not typify the repertoires of widely–acclaimed Macedonian Rom singers such as Usnija Redžepova and Muharem Serbezovski, Ramadan's oriental repertoire has roots in the work of these earlier established singers.

From the early period of his involvement in recording, Ramadan experimented within the framework of local Gypsy music and the linguistic/musical conventions of newly–composed folk music. As he himself asserts, he gained a wider audience acceptance with the album

"Ramče," which included songs in Romani, than he had with two previous more typically mainstream, newly–composed folk music albums. The commercial success of "Ramče" proved to him that musical and linguistic interchangeability is the direction to follow, and indeed it has marked his subsequent work as a performer and producer. Following up on Bajramović's formula, "something for everyone," in 1989 Ramadan produced his album "Elizabet" which included ten songs representing an almost equal number of stylistic statements or, according to functional criteria, songs ranging from cafe–disco sound to intimate ballad settings of Rom tunes.

Obviously, singers conceptualize the stylistic diversity of their repertoires in terms of their musical interests as well as their commercial interests. Ramadan himself points out that his ethnic ties to a Macedonian Rom and Turkish background help explain his musical interests in Macedonian, Turkish, and Indian music. In his album "Elizabet" each of these musical sources is cited or suggested so as to affirm and capitalize on musical links with the East. Given such an esthetic framework, he can adapt even Greek music to reinforce the oriental sound he seeks in his music. This stylistic pattern clearly expresses the economic adaptability of singers to a music market which is dominated by oriental production.

Elsie Ivancich Dunin's account of dance among the Rom population of Skopje sheds light on motives behind these musical choices and resulting shifts in definitions of Rom musical ethnicity:

> There was, then, in 1977 growing Gypsy self–awareness, a change from the "Cigani" to "Romi" identity. The new self–awareness evolved into a more conscious search for "roots." Orient/Turkish were the 1967 models in music. But in 1977 one could see a developing interest in Indian models, revealing new knowledge of their origins in India (1983:114).

Looking at the larger context of these choices, it became evident that music mediates ethnicity and that both categories, music and ethnicity, are subject to change. The seemingly homogeneous notion of oriental style assumes different meanings in different contexts. As a musical concept, oriental can be viewed as a unifying component in that it has become a stylistic consensus point among the singers as well as the target segment of record companies' production. As a commercial factor, however, it functioned both to consolidate the newly–composed folk music market and reinforce the economic competition among the singers. Briefly, orientalism has become the

subject of differing interests, on professional, economic, and ethnic grounds.

This multi–leveled picture of the absorbing tendencies in newly-composed folk music can be summarized as follows. 1) Oriental music is adapted from an outside culture (Turkey); it is channeled through the local sphere of influence (Macedonia) toward the North (Serbia). 2) Rom singers appropriate musical conventions from the mainstream; non–Rom singers appropriate them from the Yugoslav South, rich in marketable music. An attempt to attribute oriental style to a specific ethnic and/or geographic setting would obviously raise more questions about origins and influences than it would answer. Therefore, I will briefly discuss a Gypsy/non–Gypsy perspective of orientalism only to illustrate the complex interplay between identity, style, and economic value in defining Gypsy music.

Within the Yugoslav music industry the advent of modern oriental style is associated with five non–Gypsy singers organized around the Belgrade–based production group called "Južni Vetar" ('Southern Wind'). Since 1985 this group has had an enormous influence on the Yugoslav music market (despite the reluctance of the major radio stations to broadcast its music for reasons previously mentioned). The influence of "Južni Vetar" developed from two interrelated factors: the group has set a stylistic norm and it has become a model of successful management. This served as an prototype for groups with similar stylistic orientation which began to proliferate in the late 1980s. However, none of these groups, including those working within the "indigenous" oriental setting of Macedonian music, has succeeded in reaching the stature of "Južni Vetar." (This is in part due to Macedonia's marginal position as a production center, measured against Belgrade and Sarajevo where the music industry is concentrated). Differentiation of oriental music production into northern, non–Gypsy, and southern, Gypsy, domains would be an overly simplified duality. However, the more readily observable patterns of the economic power of the North and the musical potential of the South do contribute to the maintenance of the image of Rom music as the music of a subculture.

In the context of the competitively structured social organization of musicians, a musical style often becomes a socially and ethnically referential category. The responses to the activity of "Južni Vetar," which invariably point to the North–South dichotomy, are frequently articulated among the singers with ethnic references. Ramadan asserts, "Only one who was born in the South (Macedonia)

is able to do oriental style." Here the oriental is apparently understood as synonymous with "Gypsy." As Mark Slobin states in discussing the *klezmer* music of American Jews, "... it is not the form, but understood *meaning* of particular item that puts it inside [the ethnic] boundary" (1984:38).

Toward Pan–Gypsy Music

Along with these musical developments which helped Rom music grow as an identifiable genre, there has been a continuous process of its assimilation by the mainstream. This process, fostered by non–Gypsy singers and a receptive market, has produced a generalized Gypsy style, the phenomenon of Gypsy "international" music, which will be illustrated with two examples.

In the early 1980s Yugoslav audiences were introduced to the three–member group "Cigani Ivanovići" ('The Ivanović Gypsies') from France as a product of Gypsy international musicianship. The Ivanovićes exemplified the spread of Gypsy entertainment music—directed mainly to the European audience—which transcends its geographical and cultural origin, allowing it to be variously identified with the Russian, Hungarian, Spanish or some other "great" Gypsy musical tradition. As the counterpart to local Rom singers, the Ivanovići were presented as a Parisian attraction of mixed (Yugoslav and Russian) Gypsy ancestry. Their ethnic background and itinerant life–style, enhanced by their international reputation as performers, were mirrored in their repertoire, a blend of various musical traditions of pan–ethnic appeal.

The television appearances of the Ivanovići presented images in sharp contrast to conventional depictions of local Gypsy performers. For example,their stage shows developed the impression of refinement and elegance, enhanced by their use of controlled, fluid movements and glamorous white satin costumes, rather than the Dionysian unrestraint usually seen by Yugoslav television audiences.

Beyond the visual attraction, local musicians have resourcefully responded to this concept of international Gypsy music by modernizing locally–derived Gypsy music and creating new hybrids. An example of this response is shown in the rise of the group "Sar e Roma" ('Like the Gypsies') from Sarajevo, made up of Gypsy and non–Gypsy musicians. Introducing repertoire that would be simultaneously appealing to a local, folk music audience, and ethnically mixed, predominantly urban audiences, the group has gained a broad

credibility. The perception shared by audience and mass media is that "Sar e Roma" has widened the scope of Gypsy music in Yugoslavia and added a new perspective of authenticity.

This group appears to be atypical in two respects. It exemplifies high performance and recording standards, and it remains relatively independent of local folk music. The perceived authenticity of "Sar e Roma" music translates into the iconography of their act embodied in the image of Russian Gypsies. The group consistently draws on a recognizable set of features in the tradition of popular culture representations of Gypsiness: instrumental virtuosity, extended harmonic language, flamboyant vocal displays, a back–up chorus, and lyrics conveying the sentiments of romanticism, passion, and drama.

One additional example of Gypsy music on the local-international continuum is presented by music from the Emir Kusturica film "Dom za Vešanje" ('House for Hanging'), shown outside of Yugoslavia as "Time of the Gypsies." Leaving aside the question of the ethnographic validity of Kusturica's picturesque depiction of a group of Rom on their way from their neighborhood in Skopje to the camps of Milan, the music used in this film eloquently illustrates the contradictions and interethnic junctures in the music of Yugoslav Rom Gypsies. The soundtrack, created by Rom musicians from Skopje in collaboration with non-Gypsy producers, is simultaneously the affirmation of Gypsy music's marginality and its mainstream credibility. The great wave of interest in this film's soundtrack, stimulated by the mass–media coverage of the movie, has created a surge of interethnic maneuvering for mainstream recognition. At the film's premiere during the 1989 Cannes Film Festival, the appearance of Rom musicians, together with the film director, bordered on a first–rate display of Balkan/Gypsy exoticism. Viewed from the local perspective, however, one effect of Rom participation in this project must be recognized. The soundtrack, which includes original performances by a locally renowned Rom orchestra led by Feat Sejdić, can be perceived as more of an ethnomusicological artifact than a medley of Gypsy items intended for the mass audience. More importantly, here it is the pop music "touch" that gives a flavor to the music performed by the Rom, not vice versa.

Analysis of the function of music in Kusturica's film would, of course, require a separate study. I have mentioned this film because it is set within the larger process I have attempted to outline. Furthermore, it is a metaphor of the continuous process by which the Rom/Gypsy music evolves from being a functional, stylistic ingredient of

the mainstream to being at the center of dominant cultural practices such as popular music.

Conclusion

Stylistically, the genre of Gypsy popular music is a heterogeneous entity. Musicians creatively choose from diverse musical sources that are articulated into more general stylistic patterns such as Serbian, Macedonian, and oriental. The ethnic distinctiveness of Gypsy music is symbolically negotiated by musicians through a set of factors such as local music environments, aesthetic preferences, responsiveness to trends within the mainstream, and market values of styles. These factors are not reduced solely to their strategic function. Rather, they are variables which help explain the interplay between musical style and Rom Gypsy identity, and the syncretic nature of the Gypsy genre within Yugoslav popular music. More important than the notion of the Rom musicians' adaptability to new commercial contexts is the continuous and dynamic process of their "conscious use of manifold symbolic forms and testing of their own identity" (Fornas 1990:304) vis–à–vis both the Rom Gypsy audience and the majority culture.

Acknowledgments. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Annual Meeting of the Gypsy Lore Society, Staten Island, NY, April 1990.

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Acknowledgment

The editor gratefully acknowledges the following individuals who assisted with manuscript review during the past year.

Elliot Barkan
Judith Barker
Linda Dégh
Marion L. Dobbert
Mark Forry
A. M. Fraser
Victor A. Friedman
Geraldine Grant
Eric Hamp
Raymond F. Hilliard
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Corrections

p. 94. Reference to note 3 should follow para. *G1*.
p. 105. Para 2. "tátva aśilya".
p. 108. Phoneme A)h). ɥ.
p. 109. Renarks, no. 8. rakljà.
Morphological characteristics, para 4. ...short forms).
p. 110. ll. 6, 11, 19. ọ mpëràto.
l. 9. kọvërakë.
l. 13. šàlcije.
l. 31. k ẹnkë.
l. 33. o bàčọ; gurumnjẹnca.
p. 112. l. 12. kọdè.
l. 13. ọ mpëràto.
p. 114. l. 9. ʒilàbel.
ll. 10-11. mïñi.
ll. 20-21. mïfe.
p. 124. Note 3. tilinkó.
Note 4. As far as I know, stories are told in this way only for little children.
Note 5. That tale is one of improvisations....
References: Bari, Károlyi.
p. 125.

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